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The History *of* Nations

IRELAND-SCOTLAND

MEMORIAL
EDITION

THE HISTORY OF NATIONS

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Ph. D., LL. D. · EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

IRELAND

BY PATRICK W. JOYCE, LL. D.

AND

SCOTLAND

REVISED AND EDITED BY

AUGUSTUS HUNT SHEARER, Ph. D.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, TRINITY COLLEGE

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NOTE

The editors of "The History of Nations" concluded their work with the chronicling of events to October, 1905, and all additions thereafter, bringing the histories to date, have been supplied by the publishers.

PREFACE

THE main part of the history of Ireland in this volume is by Patrick Weston Joyce, LL.D., one of the commissioners for the publication of the ancient laws of Ireland, and a writer on education and Irish history of no mean repute. Part of his work had to be condensed, but his wording has been left undisturbed as far as possible, and no abridgment has been made in the description of any important person, event, or measure. From the time of William III. the narrative has been left almost intact. Joyce is an Irishman and a Catholic, but is eminently fair in his treatment of controverted points. He says in his own preface:

"In writing this book I have generally followed the plan of weaving the narrative round important events and leading personages. This method, while in no degree interfering with the continuity of the history, has enabled me to divide the whole book into short chapters, each forming a distinct narrative or story more or less complete; and it has aided me in my endeavor to make the history of Ireland interesting and attractive. . . .

"Above all I have tried to write soberly and moderately, avoiding exaggeration and bitterness, pointing out extenuating circumstances where it was just and right to do so, giving credit where credit is due, and showing fair play all round. A writer may accomplish all this while sympathizing heartily, as I do, with Ireland and her people. Perhaps this book, written as it is in such a broad and just spirit, may help to foster mutual feelings of respect and toleration among Irish people of different parties, and may teach them to love and admire what is great and noble in their history, no matter where found. This indeed was one of the objects I kept steadily in view while writing it. . . . And the history of Ireland, though on the whole a very sad history, abounds in records of heroic deeds and heroic endurance, like those of Derry and Limerick, which all Irish people of the present day ought to look back to with pride, and which all young persons should be taught to reverence and admire.

"No effort has been spared to secure truthfulness and accuracy of statement; the utmost care has been taken throughout to consult and compare original authorities; and nothing has been accepted on second-hand evidence.

"It may not be unnecessary to say that, except in the few places where I quote, the narrative all through this book is original, and not made up by adapting or copying the texts of other modern Irish histories. For good or for bad I preferred my own way of telling the story."

Joyce's book ends about the time of the famine of 1845-1846. Fortunately the last two chapters of Justin H. McCarthy's "Ireland and Her Story" cover the period from the famine to 1902 in excellent style. Of McCarthy himself little need be said. As an Irish party leader of ability and moderation, he has the esteem of most Englishmen. As a novelist he has some reputation, and as a historian he has a large popular following. While not deep or searching, his wide personal acquaintance and temperate statements, coupled with a good style, render him very readable. In his two chapters here, his best work is the characterization of prominent men. Foot-notes are added to explain details of events and measures which McCarthy hastily sketches, and a short account is added to bring the narrative down to date.

Augustus Hunt Shearer

Trinity College, Hartford

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HISTORY OF IRELAND

HISTORY OF IRELAND

Chapter I

THE COUNTRY IN OLDEN TIMES

IN order that the history of Ireland, as set forth in this book, may be clearly understood, it is necessary, at the outset, to describe how the country looked in early ages, and to give some information about the daily life of the people. The state of things pictured here in the first few chapters existed in Ireland from a period beyond the reach of history down to about three hundred years ago, and partially much later, but with many changes from time to time during the long interval.

In olden times the appearance of Ireland was very different from what it is at present. The country was everywhere covered with vast forests; there were great and dangerous marshes, quagmires, and bogs. As the land of the country was so much encumbered with trees, it was justly regarded as a praiseworthy deed to help to clear spaces for tillage; but in later times the forests were cut down quickly enough for another purpose, to supply fuel for smelting iron, which was a common industry in Ireland three or four hundred years ago. Besides, there was a regular export trade in Irish oak. From all these causes combined the great forests of Ireland were gradually cleared off and finally disappeared about two centuries ago.

At intervals through the country there were open grassy plains, but they were everywhere surrounded by forest land, and broken up and dotted over with clumps of trees and brushwood. The same sparkling streamlets without number that still delight us tumbled down from the uplands; and there, too, were the same stately rivers and resounding waterfalls. In many of the rivers the pearl mussel was found, so that Ireland was well known for producing pearls, unusually large and of very fine quality; and in some of these same rivers pearls are still found. There were the same broad lakes,

like inland seas, that we see at the present day; but they were generally larger, and were surrounded with miles of reedy morasses.

Minerals there were, too, in sufficient quantity to give rise to many industries. The remains of ancient mines, of copper, coal, and other minerals, with many rude antique mining tools, have been found in recent times in some parts of Ireland. Chief among the metals were gold, iron, and copper.

Wild animals abounded everywhere,—foxes, savage dogs, and otters. Wolves became so numerous and dangerous that the people kept a special breed of dogs, Irish wolf-dogs, to hunt them down. There were plenty of wildcats, and swine, both domestic and wild, and wild boars. The open pasture lands were grazed by herds of cows, sheep, and goats, which at a very ancient period were all wild; but the domesticated animals gradually took their place as the population increased and extended. Then lived the Irish elk, a gigantic deer with great branching solid antlers, compared with which the largest of our present deer are mere dwarfs. We know that bears were there, too, for we still find their bones in caverns. Myriads of noisy sea-fowl circled and screamed and fished all round the coasts and swarmed on the cliffs, among them the strong and graceful sea-eagle; for the sea, as well as the lakes and rivers, teemed with fish. The goshawks, or falcons, were found in abundance, and were much famed on the Continent.

The country, from the earliest times, was noted for its abundance of honey, for bees, both wild and domestic, swarmed everywhere. But there were no snakes or toads. We have now plenty of frogs; but the first ever seen in Ireland, of which there is any record, was found near Waterford toward the close of the twelfth century. As the population of the country increased, the cultivated land increased in proportion. But until a late time, there were few inhabited districts that were not within view, or within easy reach, of unreclaimed waste lands—forest, or bog, or moorland; so that the people had much ado to protect their crops and flocks from the inroads of wild animals.

All round near the coast ran, then as now, the principal mountain ranges, with a great plain in the middle. The air was soft and moist, perhaps even more moist than at present, on account of the great extent of forest. The cleared land was exceedingly fertile, and was well watered with springs, streamlets, and rivers, not only

among the mountainous districts, but all over the central plain. Pasture lands were luxuriant and evergreen, inviting flocks and herds without limit.

From the foregoing sketch it will be seen that Ireland, so far as it was brought under cultivation and pasture in those early days, was—as the Venerable Bede calls it—a land flowing with milk and honey, a pleasant, healthful, and fruitful land, well fitted to maintain a prosperous and contented people.

Chapter II

LITERATURE, ARTS, AND BUILDINGS.

LEARNING of all kinds was held in great estimation by the ancient Irish, especially history, poetry, and romantic tales. Most of their lore was written down in books; for after the time of St. Patrick everything that was considered worthy of being preserved was committed to writing, so that manuscripts gradually accumulated all through the country. But in the dark time of the Danish ravages, and during the troubled centuries that followed the Anglo-Norman invasion, the manuscript collections were gradually dispersed, and a large proportion lost or destroyed. Yet we have remaining—rescued from the general wreck—a great body of manuscript literature. The two most important collections are those in Trinity College and in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, where there are manuscripts of various ages, from the sixth down to the present century. There are also many important Irish manuscripts in the British Museum in London, and in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Great numbers, too, are preserved in Continental libraries, where they were written, or to which they were brought from Ireland, by those Irish missionaries who frequented the Continent in early ages.

A favorite occupation of some of the monks of old was copying the Gospels or other portions of the Holy Scriptures, always in Latin, and there are many beautiful specimens extant. Before the invention of printing it was customary in Ireland for individuals, or families, or religious communities, to keep large manuscript books of miscellaneous literature. In these were written such literary pieces as were considered worthy of being preserved in writing—tales, poems, biographies, histories, annals, and so forth—all mixed up in one volume, and almost always copied from older books. These books were very valuable and were to be found only in the monastery libraries or houses of kings and chiefs, or learned men.

The oldest of all these books of miscellaneous literature is the "Book of the Dun Cow," now in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

It was written—copied from older books—by Mailmurry Mac Kelleher, a learned scribe, who died in Clonmacnoise in the year 1106. As it now stands it consists of only 134 large vellum pages, a mere fragment of the original work. The "Book of Leinster," which is kept in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, is the largest, though not the oldest, of all the ancient Irish manuscript volumes. It is an immense book of 410 vellum pages, written in or about the year 1160, containing nearly one thousand pieces of various kinds, some in prose, some in poetry, nearly all about Irish affairs. Other old books are the "Speckled Book" of Mac Egan, almost as large as the "Book of Leinster," consisting chiefly of religious pieces, the "Book of Ballymote," the "Book of Lecan" [Leckan], and the "Yellow Book of Lecan," which are all in Dublin, and contain a vast amount of ancient Irish lore. Much of the contents of these books has been published and translated: but by far the greatest part still remains locked up in the Irish language, waiting to be dealt with by the loving labor of Irish scholars.

The Irish chroniclers were very careful to record in their annals remarkable occurrences of their own time, or past events as handed down to them by former chroniclers. These Annals are among the most important of the ancient manuscript writings for the study of Irish history. The most extensive and valuable of all are the "Annals of the Four Masters." They were compiled in the Franciscan Monastery of Donegal, from older authorities, by three of the O'Clerys, a learned family of laymen, hereditary ollaves or professors of history to the O'Donnells of Tirconnell, and by a fourth scholar named O'Mulconry. These are now commonly known as the "Four Masters." They began the work in 1632 and completed it in 1636.

We have also preserved a vast body of medical manuscripts, which originated in the following manner. There were professional physicians or leeches in Ireland from the very beginning of society, who, like the Brehons, had to undergo a long course of training, and like them kept books for reference, some in Irish and some in Latin. In Ireland, the professions, as for instance those of History, Poetry, and Law, commonly ran in families: and many Irish families were distinguished physicians for generations, such as the O'Shiels, the O'Cassidys, the O'Hickeys, and the O'Lees, of whom the fame of some had reached the Continent. Each family kept a medical book, the collected experience and wisdom of

ages, which was handed down reverently from father to son. A vast number of these books are preserved in libraries; and there are probably more old medical manuscripts in existence written by Irish doctors than there are belonging to any other country.

There were hospitals even in pagan times. In later ages most of them were in connection with monasteries: but some were secular, and came under the Brehon Law, which laid down regulations for them, especially as regarded cleanliness and ventilation. The poor were received free in all hospitals, but those who could afford it were expected to pay for food, medicine, and the attendance of the doctor.

Of all our manuscript remains romantic literature is the most abundant. It consists of stories, some very long, some short, chiefly in prose, but often mixed up with poetry, nearly all of them about Irish historical personages, or founded on Irish historical events.

In Ireland art was practiced in four different branches: ornamentation and illumination of manuscript books, metal work, sculpture, and building. Art of every kind reached its highest perfection in the period between the end of the ninth and the beginning of the twelfth century; after which all cultivation degenerated on account of the Danish irruptions and the Anglo-Norman invasion.

As all the books were written by hand, penmanship as an art was carefully cultivated, and was brought to great perfection. The old scribes of Ireland, who were generally, but not always, monks, and were held in great honor, had a method of ornamentation not used by scribes of other countries. Several of the highly ornamented books are still preserved, of which the most remarkable is the "Book of Kells." It is a copy of the Four Gospels in Latin; and for beauty of execution no other book in any part of the world can compare with it. The "Book of Armagh," containing, among many other pieces, a life of St. Patrick and a complete copy of the New Testament in Latin, is almost as beautifully written as the "Book of Kells."

The Irish artists in metal work were quite as skillful as the scribes were in penmanship. The ornamental patterns were generally similar to those used in manuscripts, consisting of the same beautiful curves with interlacements; and the materials employed were gold, silver, bronze of a whitish color, gems, and enamel. A great number of the lovely articles made by those accomplished

artists have been found from time to time, of which the most remarkable and beautiful are the Cross of Cong, the Ardagh Chalice, and the Tara Brooch, all now to be seen in the National Museum in Dublin.

From very early times the Irish were celebrated for their skill in music; and Irish professors and teachers of music were almost as much in request in foreign countries as those of literature. Giraldus Cambrensis, who seldom had a good word for anything Irish, speaks of the Irish harpers of his time—the twelfth century—as follows: "They are incomparably more skillful than any other nation I have ever seen. It is astonishing that in so complex and rapid a movement of the fingers the musical proportions [as to time] can be preserved; and that the harmony is completed with such a sweet rapidity." We still possess great numbers of the lovely airs composed by the old Irish musicians; and many songs have been written to them, the best of which are those by Thomas Moore. The harp was the favorite instrument among the higher classes of people, many of whom played on it, merely for pleasure. But the lower classes loved the bagpipes better. Soldiers commonly marched to battle inspirited by the martial strains of one or more pipers marching at their head, a custom retained to this day, especially among the Scotch.

Dwelling houses were mostly of a round shape, generally made of wood, very seldom of stone. The wall was very high, and was formed of long peeled poles standing pretty near each other, with their ends fixed deep in the ground; and the spaces between were closed in with wickerwork of peeled rods and twigs. The whole was smoothly plastered and made brilliantly white with lime on the outside: though some houses were fancifully painted all over in bands of bright colors; and in some again the white wickerwork was left uncovered on the outside. The top was cone-shaped, and, like English houses of corresponding periods, thatched with straw or rushes, with an opening to serve as chimney. The fire was kept burning in the middle of the floor: but in all large houses there was a special kitchen for cooking. When Henry II. was in Dublin in 1171 he had a splendid house of this kind erected, in which he spent the Christmas in great state. Families in good circumstances had two or three of these round structures beside each other, forming several rooms; but the poorer people had only one. In large houses, the door-jambs, bed-posts, etc., were often of yew-wood,

curiously carved. The family commonly lived, ate, and slept in one large apartment, the beds being placed round the wall, and separated by boarded partitions; but we often find mention of separate bedrooms for different members of the family, and for guests. A bath in a special bathroom was quite usual. In houses of the better class the women had one apartment for themselves called a greenan, that is, a "sunny-house," in the most lightsome part of the building.

As a defense against wild beasts or robbers, each house was surrounded with a high embankment of earth, having a strong close hedge of thorns or a palisade of stakes on top, outside of which was a deep trench often filled with water. This inclosure with its surrounding rampart was called a rath or lis. Sometimes a whole group of houses stood within one large rath. For greater security, dwellings were often constructed on artificial islands made with stakes, trees, and bushes, in shallow lakes; these were called crannoges. Communication with the shore was carried on by means of a small boat kept on the island. Crannoge dwellings were in pretty general use in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and the remains of many of them are still to be seen in our lakes.

The dwelling of a king, which was commonly called a dun [doon], was fortified with two or three sets of surrounding ramparts and trenches, and there was often a high mound in the center, flat on top for the house or fortress of the king. The remains of these old palaces may still be seen at most of the ancient royal residences; as for instance at Tara, Emain, and Rathcroghan.

Sometimes the rampart surrounding the dwellings was a wall of stone without mortar: for the use of mortar was not known in Ireland till after the time of St. Patrick; and they built in dry masonry like the very early Greeks. These circular stone fortresses, which are built with much rude art—the stones fitting all through with great exactness—are called cahers and sometimes cashels.

There are now no traces left of the wooden houses erected in any of these old forts; but the raths, lisses, duns, cahers, cashels, and mounds are still to be seen in every part of Ireland, and are called by these names. Circular houses within circular forts gradually gave place to the four-cornered houses that we have at present, but they continued in use till the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

The ancient Irish buried their dead in three different ways, of which the most usual was depositing the body in the grave as

at present. Sometimes the body of a king, or great warrior, or other notable person, was placed standing up in the grave, fully dressed in battle array, with sword in hand, and with his face turned towards the territory of his enemies. The pagan Irish believed that while the body of their king remained in this position it exercised a malign influence on their enemies, who were thereby always defeated in battle. Owen Bel, king of Connaught, when dying of a wound received in a battle fought near Sligo against the Ulstermen in 537 A. D., said to his people: "Bury me with my red javelin in my hand on the side of the hill by which the Northerns pass when fleeing before the army of Connaught, and place me with my face turned toward them in my grave." And this was done, and the Ulstermen were always routed after that; till at last they came and removed the body to another grave, placing it head downward, which broke the baleful spell.

Very often the body was burned, and the ashes were placed in an ornamental urn of baked clay. We know this custom was very general in Ireland, because urns containing ashes and half-burned human bones are very often found in old graves. Sometimes the body or urn was placed in what we now call a cromlech, formed of several large upright stones supporting on top one immense flat stone, so as to enclose a rude chamber. A cromlech was much the same as the flat tombs in churchyards of the present day, except that the stones were much larger, and were in their rough state, without being hammered or chiseled into shape. Many of these cromlechs still remain, and are often called by the people "Giants' Graves." Often a great mound of stones called a cairn was heaped over the grave. A burial mound has no ramparts round it; and by this it may generally be distinguished from the mound of a dun or fortress.

Chapter III

DAILY LIFE AND RELIGION

AT the regular meals the whole household sat in one large room, the chief and his family and distinguished guests at the head, and the rest of the company ranged downward in order of rank.

For food, the higher classes used the flesh of wild and domestic animals, boiled or roasted, much as at the present day, with wheaten bread. The main food of the general body of the people consisted of various kinds of bread baked on a griddle; milk, curds, cheese, butter; fish and fruit; and, for those who could afford it, pork and bacon. Pork was a favorite food among all classes. Oatmeal porridge, or stirabout, as it is called in Ireland, was in very general use, especially for children, and was eaten with milk, butter, or honey. The Irish rivers abounded then as now in salmon, a food which was in great request.

There was then no sugar, and honey was greatly valued, beehives were kept everywhere; and the management of bees was considered such an important industry that a special section of the Brehon Laws is devoted to it. At table a little dish, sometimes of silver, filled with honey, was put beside the plate, and each morsel, whether meat, fish, or bread, was dipped into it before being conveyed to the mouth. For drink, they had—besides plain water and milk—ale, mead, and frequently wine brought from the Continent: for in those early days there was considerable trade with France and other continental countries. The people often mixed honey with milk, either sweet or sour, for drinking. From honey also was made a kind of liquor called mead, very sweet and slightly intoxicating. This was considered a delicacy; and a visitor was often treated to a drink of mead immediately on arrival.

People of the higher classes often drank from a beautiful horn of elaborate and costly workmanship. A much more common drinking vessel was what was called a mether (from mead), made of wood, with one, two, or four handles, which circulated from

hand to hand, each passing it to his neighbor after taking a drink. In every great house there was at least one large-sized caldron which was kept in continual use boiling food, so that guests might be hospitably entertained whenever they happened to arrive.

At intervals through the country there were houses of public hospitality—open brudins or hostels—where all travelers who called, and also certain important persons, such as kings, chiefs, bishops, and brehons, when on their circuits, were entertained free of expense. The keeper of one of these houses was called a brugaid [broo-ee], *i. e.*, a public hostel-keeper: and sometimes a beetagh. He was held in great honor; and he had a tract of land, besides other large allowances, to enable him to maintain his expensive establishment.

Small corn mills driven by water were used in Ireland from very remote ages. In early Christian times almost every monastery had a mill attached to it for the use of the community. In most houses there was a quern or handmill, which was commonly worked by women, who each evening ground corn enough for next day. Querns continued in use down to our time in remote parts of Ireland.

For light they had dipped candles, which were held in candlesticks, sometimes with branches. The poorer classes used peeled rushes soaked in grease, as we sometimes see at the present day. As bees were so abundant, beeswax, as might be expected, was turned to account. In some of our old records we find wax candles mentioned as being used in the houses of the richer classes (in Dinnree for instance) long before the fifth century. For a king, it was customary to make an immense candle, sometimes as thick as a man's body, with a great bushy wick, which was always kept burning in his presence at night. In the palace it was placed high over his head; during war it blazed outside his tent door; and on night marches it was borne before him. As there were forests and thickets everywhere, wood was the most used fuel, but dried peat cut from bogs was also burned, and coal and charcoal were used by smiths and other metal-workers.

In ordinary outdoor life the men wore a large loose frieze mantle or overall, which was often so long as to cover them down to the ankles. Among the rich it was usually of fine cloth, often variegated with scarlet and other brilliant colors and fastened at the throat with a beautiful brooch.

Well-dressed people wore inside this a shorter tight-fitting garment, generally reaching to the middle of the thigh, but often below the knee, plaited up and down and fastened at the waist by a belt. This was sometimes dyed in color. A single short mantle, always dyed in color, and sometimes furnished with a hood, was also much worn. The trousers were tight fitting; the cap was usually cone-shaped and without a leaf. But the common people generally went bareheaded, wearing the hair long, hanging down behind, and clipped in front just above the eyes. The shoes or sandals were mostly of untanned hide stitched with thongs, but some times of tanned leather curiously stamped or engraved. Occasionally the ladies of higher families wore sandals of whitish bronze highly ornamented. In early times gloves were common among the higher classes.

The women generally wore variously-colored tunics down to the very feet, with many folds and much material—twenty or thirty yards—under which was a long gown or kirtle. Linen, whether used by men or women, was dyed saffron. The married women had a kerchief on the head; the unmarried girls went bare-headed, with the hair either folded up neatly or hanging down on the back. They took much care of the hair, and used combs, some of them very ornamental. The higher classes were fond of gold ornaments, such as brooches, bracelets for the arms, rings, necklaces, twisted torques or collars to be worn round the neck, or bright rich-looking clasps to confine the hair. Other ornamental articles were made of silver or white bronze, enameled in various colors, and set with gems. A great number of these, many of most beautiful workmanship, are preserved in the National Museum in Dublin. One torque of pure gold found near Tara, measures five and a half feet in length, and weighs twenty-seven and a half ounces.

It was the custom to hold fair-meetings in various places for the transaction of important business, sometimes once a year, sometimes once in three years. The most important of all was the Fes of Tara. Very important yearly meetings were held at the Hill of Ward (Tlachtga) near Athboy in Meath; at the Hill of Ushnagh in Westmeath; and at Tailltenn, now Teltown, on the Blackwater between Navan and Kells in Meath. This last was the great national assembly for horse races and all kinds of athletic games and exercises. A triennial meeting was held at Wexford, and there were fair-meetings in numberless other places. At these assemblies

laws were proclaimed to keep them before the minds of the people, taxes were arranged, pastimes and athletic sports were carried on, as well as buying and selling as we see at fairs of the present day.

In those times, so very few were able to read that for all information and amusement to be derived from books the people had to depend on professional storytellers and poets, who often traveled from place to place and earned a good livelihood by their profession. And as soon as one stood up, these rough men ceased their noisy revels, and listened with rapt delight to some tale of the heroes of old. A harper was often present, who charmed the company with his beautiful Irish airs; or if it was a gathering of the lower classes, more likely a piper. Chess-playing was a favorite pastime of kings and chiefs.

Fosterage prevailed from the remotest period, and was practiced by persons of all classes, but more especially by those of the higher ranks. A man sent his child to be reared and educated in the home and with the family of another member of the tribe, who then became foster-father, and his sons and daughters the foster-brothers and foster-sisters of the child. Fosterage, which was the closest tie between families, was subject to strict regulations, which were carefully set forth in the Brehon Law.

When a man stood sponsor for a child at baptism, he became the child's godfather, and gossip to the parents: this was called gossipred. It was regarded as a sort of religious relationship between families, and created mutual obligations of regard and friendship.

There were five great highways leading in five different directions through Ireland from Tara, and besides these there were numerous others, so that the country seems to have been very fairly provided with roads. Stone bridges were not then used in Ireland, but there were many constructed of timber planks or rough tree-trunks. Rivers, however, were very generally crossed by wading through fords where the stream spread out broad and shallow, and often by swimming, for most young persons were taught to swim as a regular part of their education.

Chariots were used both in private life and in war. The early Irish saints commonly traveled in chariots when on their long missionary journeys. The battle chariots were open, and were furnished with spikes and scythe-blades for driving through the ranks of the enemy. Horses were used a good deal by the higher

classes. The men rode without saddle or stirrup; and were trained to vault into their seat from either side, right or left. Low benches were common on the roadsides to enable old or infirm persons to mount.

The Irish had three kinds of boats: small sailing vessels, with which oars were employed when the wind failed; canoes of one piece hollowed out from the trunks of trees, which were chiefly used on lakes; and currachs, that is, wickerwork boats covered with hides.

The religion of the pagan Irish, it is commonly understood, was Druidism. But although our old books speak very often of this Druidism, they do not give us any clear idea of what sort of religion it was. There were persons called druids, who were learned men, the only men of those times that had any learning, and as all learned professions were then usually combined in the one person, every druid was also a physician, a poet, a historian, and a brehon. But later on, after the people had become Christian, and there were no longer any druids, the professions became divided, and one man was a brehon, another a poet, another a physician, and so on.

The druids had the reputation of being great magicians, and this indeed is the character in which they principally figure in old Irish writings. They professed also to be able to foretell future events by casting lots, by dreams, by listening to the croaking of ravens or the chirping of wrens, or by looking at the clouds or stars. The druids were employed to educate the children of kings and chiefs; so that they were persons of high position and great influence, held in respect by all, and much dreaded by the common people. Some writers think that they were also a sort of pagan priests like those of Greece and Rome. No doubt the druidic systems of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland were originally one and the same, as being derived from some common Eastern source; but Druidism seems to have become greatly modified in Ireland, and the descriptions of the Gaulish and British druids by Cæsar and others give us no information regarding those of Ireland. The short account of Irish druids given here is derived from purely native sources, beyond which we cannot go, as we have no information from outside.

The pagan Irish had gods and goddesses, many of whom are named in the old writings, but there was no one of them at the head of all the others, like Jupiter among the Greeks and Romans.

The Irish sea-god was Mannanan Mac Lir, a Dedannan chief who was deified after his death. The people also worshiped the shee or fairies. The belief was that the Dedannans, after they had been conquered by the Milesians, went to live underground and became fairies. Each Dedannan chief selected a green mound, called in the Irish language a shee or fairy-hill, under which he took up his residence with his followers, in a glorious palace brilliantly lighted up, and all sparkling with gems and gold. These shees, which are scattered over the country, are usually old burial mounds, or natural hills having on top a rath, a mound, a great natural rock, or a cairn. The fairies themselves were also called shee; and they were believed to issue forth from the hills at night and roam over the country, doing harm much oftener than good. The people did not love the shee, but dreaded them very much, and whatever worship they paid them was merely intended to keep them from inflicting injury.

In some places idols were worshiped. There is no good evidence to show that the pagan Irish offered human sacrifices: though some writers, on insufficient authority, have asserted that they did. Natural objects were worshiped by many. Well-worship was pretty general, while some few worshiped fire, and others the sun and moon.

The pagan Irish had a dim sort of belief in a land of everlasting youth and peace, called by various names, such as Moy-Mell, the land of pleasure; Tirnanoge, the land of perpetual youth; I Brazil or O Brazil, etc. As to where it was situated, the accounts vary. Always fairies inhabited these happy lands, and sometimes they carried off mortals to them. Mortals who were brought to fairyland never grew older, and passed the time there so pleasantly that perhaps a whole century passed away when they thought it was only about a year.

These were the beliefs and practices that passed for religion among the pagan Irish. But so far as we can judge from the information that has come down to us, it hardly deserves the name of a religion at all, for it was without any settled general form of worship, it did not lay down any rules of duty or conduct, and it had no influence in making people lead better lives.

Chapter IV

GOVERNMENT AND LAW

THE clan or tribe system prevailed in Ireland, as it did in all other countries of Europe in early ages. A clan or sept consisted of a number of families all of one kindred, living in the same district, and generally bearing the same family name, such as O'Donnell or MacCarthy. A tribe was a larger group, consisting of several clans or septs, all more or less distantly related to each other. A tribe occupied a territory, of which each sept had a separate district, without interference by other septs of the same tribe. Over each tribe, as well as over each sept, there was a chief, and the chief of the tribe had authority over those of the several septs under him. If the territory occupied by a tribe was very large, the chief was a ri [pronounced *ree*], or king. Sometimes a king ruled over two or more tribes.

From a very early time Ireland was partitioned into five provinces: Ulster, Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Meath. Ulster, in its coast line, extended from the Boyne round northward to the little river Drowes, which issues from Lough Melvin, and flows between the counties of Donegal and Leitrim; Leinster from the Boyne to the mouth of the Suir; Munster from the Suir round southward to the Shannon; Connaught from the Shannon to the Drowes. The province of Meath, which was the last formed, was much larger than the present two counties of Meath and Westmeath. It extended from the Shannon eastward to the sea, and from the confines of the present King's County and County Kildare on the south, to the confines of Fermanagh and Armagh on the north. Subsequently there were some changes. Clare was wrested from Connaught and added to Munster; and Louth was transferred from Ulster to Leinster. Finally, in the later subdivisions of the country, Meath disappeared altogether as a province, and the four older provinces still remain.

Over each province there was a ri or king; and there was a king over all Ireland who was called the Ard-ri, *i. e.*, the "overking" or supreme monarch. The Ard-ri lived at Tara till its aban-

donment in the sixth century, and the province of Meath always belonged to him, to enable him to maintain his court with due dignity. Besides this, he received—or was supposed to receive—tribute from the provincial kings to support his armies and defray other expenses of government. The kings of the provinces were in like manner paid tribute by the kings or chiefs of their several tribes, or sub-kingdoms; and these again were partly supported by payments from their subordinate chiefs and heads of households. As the Ard-ri had Meath, as "Mensal-land," for his personal expenses, so each king and chief, from the highest grade to the lowest, had a tract of land for life, or as long as he continued chief, for the support of his household, along with the payments he received from those under him. This land, on his death, went, not to his family, but to his successor in the chiefship—a custom which was called Tanistry. A king sat on a throne and wore a crown on state occasions; he was richly dressed, and had great numbers of attendants.

Every tenant of land, and most heads of homesteads of whatever business, had to pay contributions to the chief. These were not in money, for there was little or no coined money in those times, but in kind, *viz.*, cattle, corn, pigs, butter, wine, clothing, handmade articles, etc., and sometimes gold and silver weighed out by the ounce. Some of the land tenants were independent and well to do; and some, on the other hand, were dependent and bound down by hard conditions to their chief. Many of these latter tenants had to receive the chief and his attendants on visitation, and to supply them with food and drink during the time they stayed. Food and drink given in this way was called coiney; and the number of followers, the time, and the kind of food, were carefully regulated by the Brehon Law. But it was a bad and a dangerous custom.

In later times the Anglo-Irish lords imitated and abused this regulation by what was called coyne and livery. A military leader, when he had no money to pay his soldiers, turned them out with arms in their hands among the English colonists (seldom among the old Irish) to pay themselves in money and food. This was coyne and livery. There were here no rules laid down, as there were for coiney; and the soldiers, being under no restraint, plundered and oppressed the people, and committed many other crimes. Bad as the Irish coiney was, coyne and livery was much

worse: and at one time it was so constantly carried on that it almost ruined the English settlement of the Pale round Dublin.

The king or chief was always taken from the members of one ruling family of the tribe or clan, that member being chosen who was considered best able to govern and lead, in peace and war (which would of course exclude children), and he should be free from bodily deformity or any plainly marked personal blemish. He might be son, brother, cousin, or any other relative of the last chief, and he was elected by the votes of the principal men. Very often, during the life of a king or chief, a person was elected to succeed him, in order to prevent quarrels whenever a vacancy should occur. This person was called the Tanist, and he stood next to the king in rank. The king, of whatever grade, was not absolute; he could not decide on any important matter concerning the tribe or territory without consulting and obtaining the consent of the principal men, which was usually done at one of the meetings before described.

The Irish kings seldom kept standing armies; but the men of the tribe were called on, as occasions arose, to serve in war, and when the campaign or expedition was over, they returned to their homes. They did not use cavalry in war, but on marches the chief leaders rode at the head of their men. We do not find cavalry mentioned on either side at the battle of Clontarf. The Irish had, however, horse soldiers for special services, each of whom had two attendants: a man to look after his arms and accouterments, and a boy to attend to the horse.

Two kinds of foot-soldiers were employed: galloglasses and kern. The galloglasses were heavy-armed soldiers. They wore a coat of mail and an iron helmet; a long sword hung by the side, and in the hand was carried a broad, heavy, keen-edged ax. They are described as large-limbed, tall, and fierce-looking, and were noted for their dexterity in the use of the battle-ax, against which neither armor nor helmet was a sufficient protection. Besides the broad ax used by the galloglasses, another kind of ax called a sparth was in use, long, narrow, and very sharp.

The Irish never took to armor very generally, but preferred to fight in saffron linen tunics, which lost them many a battle when contending against the Danes and Anglo-Normans. The kern were light-armed; they wore head pieces, and fought with a skean, or a dagger or short sword, a small bow, and a javelin attached to a thong.

The gradation of authority among the kings and chiefs seemed perfect: The monarch of Ireland ruled over the provincial kings; the provincial kings over the kings of tribes; and those over the chiefs of clans. But it was perfect only in name. The supreme monarch was never able to enforce his authority over the provincial kings, who in their turn were often defied by their sub-kings. The several kings and chiefs were seldom under proper control, and they were continually quarreling and fighting. This constant state of warfare kept the people in misery wherever it went on. The kings and chiefs could seldom be brought to unite heartily for any common purpose, so that invaders from over sea were able to make lodgments without meeting with any serious opposition. It should be remarked, however, that in this respect the people of Ireland were not worse than those of other countries at the corresponding period; the minor kings and chiefs of England were just as bad in the time of the Heptarchy. But in England it so happened that the kings of one particular state grew so powerful that they at length mastered all the others, and became the undisputed kings of all England. In Ireland no doubt something of the same kind would in the end have come to pass; but before things had time to work themselves out in this manner, the Danish incursions and the Anglo-Norman invasion came and changed the whole fortunes of the country.

We have seen that the people belonging to each sept of a tribe had a tract of land set apart for themselves. A small part of this land was the private property of individuals; all the rest was Tribe-land or Sept-land, that is, it belonged, not to individuals, but to the sept in general. Each head of a family had a farm for the time being, but every three or four years there was a new distribution of the sept-land (without disturbing that of the neighboring septs), when the people had to give up their farms and take others, which generally happened on the death of one of the householders who had land. This custom was called Gavelkind, but it was not a good plan. It prevented improvements, for no man will drain, or fence, or subsoil land that he may have to give up in a few years. A somewhat different sort of Gavelkind prevailed in Wales and England, and exists in a modified form at the present time in Kent. Another part of the land occupied by the sept was Commons, that is, waste land, such as mountain, bog, or wood, which was not assigned to any individuals in particular, but which every house-

holder of the sept had a right to use for grazing, fuel, hunting, and such like purposes.

The ancient law of Ireland, which grew up gradually in the course of ages, is now commonly called the Brehon Law, and the judges who tried and decided cases were called brehons. To become a brehon a person had to undergo a long and carefully arranged course of training, under masters who were themselves skilled brehons. Injuries of all kinds as between man and man

were atoned for by a compensation payment. Homicide, or bodily injury of any kind, whether by intent or by misadventure, was atoned for by a money fine, called an eric [er'rick]; the amount was adjudged by a brehon. The brehons had collections of laws in volumes, in the Irish language, by which they regulated their judgments. Many of these old volumes, all in beautiful handwriting, are still preserved, and several of them have lately been published with English translations. The Brehon Law came down from a time beyond the reach of history, and it continued to be used pretty generally till the beginning of the seventeenth century, when it was abolished by act of Parliament, and English law was extended to the whole of Ireland.

Chapter V

THE LEGENDS

WE have no means of finding out for a certainty how Ireland was first peopled. It is highly probable that part at least of its earliest colonists came across the narrow sea from Great Britain, which had been itself colonized by some of the Celtic tribes that in those days occupied a large part of the west of Europe. There is good reason to believe that other colonies came hither direct from the Continent, some from Spain and some from Greece. All these movements, however, took place long before the time when our regular history began. But, though those far distant ages are beyond the ken of history, we have in our old books—the manuscript books already spoken of—plenty of legends about them, that is to say, stories partly or wholly fabulous, handed down by word of mouth in the beginning for many generations, and at last committed to writing. Many of these traditions had a foundation of truth. The legends relate at great length how five successive colonies arrived in Ireland many centuries before the Christian era. No one can understand ancient Irish literature who does not know something of these legends.

Of the first colony the leader was Parthalon, who came hither from Greece with a thousand followers. He took up his abode at first on the little island of Inish-Samer in the river Erne. But after some time he and his people left this place and made their way southeast through forest and bog till they reached the east coast, and settled on the plain on which Dublin now stands. Here the Parthalonians increased and multiplied till at the end of three hundred years they were all carried off in one week by a plague.

After the destruction of Parthalon's people Ireland remained a solitude for thirty years, till a second colony, the Nemedians, came hither from Scythia, under the leadership of Nemed. These people were harassed by a race of fierce sea-robbers from Scandinavia called Fomorians, and so many battles were fought between them that very few of either party survived. One ship's crew of Ne-

medians fled over the sea to Greece, whence after a lapse of several hundred years, their descendants under the names of Firbolgs and Dedannans, made their way back to Ireland.

The Firbolgs, who sprang from one branch of the Nemedians, came first, fleeing from the oppression of the Greeks in a number of the king's ships they had seized. They were the third colony, and having landed in Ireland, their leaders, the five sons of Dela, partitioned the country into five provinces. This ancient division has survived with some alterations to the present day. The Firbolgs held sway for only thirty-six years, when they were conquered by the next colony, and retreated to Connaught.

The Dedannans, or fourth colony, who were the descendants of another branch of the Nemedians, dwelt near Athens in Greece for many generations. They learned magic from the Greeks till they became better magicians than their masters. They were compelled to flee for that reason. They came to Ireland and landed on the north coast, where they defeated the Firbolgs and gained the sovereignty, which they completed by a victory over the remaining Fomorians twenty-seven years later. They were not only magicians, but skilled artisans. In subsequent ages they were deified and became shee or fairies, whom the pagan Irish worshiped.

The legends dwell with fond minuteness on the origin, wanderings, and adventures of the fifth, the last and greatest of the Irish colonies. From Scythia, their original home, began their long pilgrimage: and having wandered from one country to another for many generations, seeking for Inisfail—the "Isle of Destiny"—their final home, of which one of their druids had told them, they settled in Spain, from which, after a long sojourn, they migrated to Ireland. They were led by the eight sons of the hero Miled [Mee-lĕ], or Milesius, of Spain, whence they were called Milesians.

Despite the magic spells of the Dedannans, the Milesians overcame them and took possession of the country. Eremon was their first king, and thenceforward Ireland was ruled by a succession of Milesian kings till the reign of Roderick O'Conor, who was the last native over-king. From these Milesian people descend all those of the modern Irish who have or have had an "O" or a "Mac" to their surname.

From the earliest times of which we have any record it was the custom to hold a Fes or meeting at Tara, the residence of the Ard-ri,

where the nobles and learned men of the whole country met, with the Ard-ri at their head, to examine the laws and records of the kingdom, and to transact other important business. The proceedings were written down in a book called the Psalter of Tara; but this book, if it ever existed, was lost or destroyed ages ago. According to the legend, the Fes was instituted by the mighty King Ollamh Fodla [Ollav Fŏla]. It was held for some days before and after Samin, or the first of November, and the intention was to summon it every third year. But this intention was not carried out, for in reality it was held only at irregular intervals—generally at the beginning of each king's reign, and occasionally at other times, when any important business required it. It is necessary to observe that the holding of the Fes of Tara is not mere legend, but a historical fact. Tara was abandoned as a royal residence in the sixth century; but extensive remains of mounds and raths are still to be seen on and around the hill.

There are some facts which we know from the year 130 A. D. on, although the narrative is not yet free from legend. We know that once the Milesians were overthrown for a few years by the plebeian races, and that for the crime of a king of Leinster, that province was put under tribute called Boru for many years. We also hear of Conn the Hundred-Fighter, who was a great, warlike, and active king; and of his grandson, Cormac MacArt, the most illustrious of all the pagan kings of Ireland, a great warrior, scholar, and lawmaker, and an encourager of learning.

Niall of the Nine Hostages, who reigned from 379 to 405 A. D., was the most warlike and adventurous of all the pagan kings. The posterity of this great king was called Hy Neill, meaning "descendants of Niall." With two exceptions (Dathi and Olioll Molt) all the over-kings of Ireland from the time of Niall down to the accession of Brian Boru belonged to this illustrious family of Hy Neill, who in later ages took the name of O'Neill.

At this time Ireland was called (among other names) Scotia, and the Irish people were known as Scots. When, subsequently, the Irish made settlements and founded a kingdom in Scotland. Ireland was usually called Scotia Major, while Scotland, whose old name was Alban, began to be known as Scotia Minor. This continued till the eleventh or twelfth century, when the name Scotia was dropped and the island was called Eirè-land, or Ireland, from the old native name Eirè or Erin; and Alban came to be

known by its present name Scotland, that is, the land of the Scots or Irish.

In those early ages the Irish were very much in the habit of crossing the sea on warlike expeditions; and they did not confine their excursions to Scotland. Long before the time of Niall they had conquered the Isle of Man and a large part of Wales, and many traces of their occupation remain in both places to this day, such as old place-names, old forts, and other monuments. The most formidable of all the invaders were Niall, who led several expeditions against the Romans, and his nephew Dathi, the last king of pagan Ireland.

The next king was Laegaire [Leary] son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, the first of the Hy Neill kings, 428 A. D., in whose reign St. Patrick arrived in Ireland to begin his mission. We have now arrived at the fifth century and shall have little more to do with legend, having, as it were, emerged from twilight into the open day. Henceforward the narrative is historical, and may be generally accepted as truth.

The history of pagan Ireland ends here; and so far we have drawn our information regarding those ancient times almost entirely from the native records. In those days of imperfect navigation, Ireland was so remote that foreign writers knew very little about it, but the few notices of it they have left us are very important. It was known to the Phœnicians, who probably visited it, and Greek writers mention it under the names of Iernis and Ierne [I-er-nè], and as the "Sacred Island" thickly inhabited by the Hiberni. The Greek geographer Ptolemy, writing in the second century, who drew his information from Phœnician authorities, has given us a description of Ireland much more accurate than the account he has left us of Great Britain. And that the people of Ireland carried on a considerable trade with foreign countries in those early ages we know from the statement of the Roman historian Tacitus, that in his time—the end of the first century—the harbors of Ireland were better known to trading nations than those of Britain. People that carry on commerce cannot be altogether barbarous, and these few notices show that the country had some settled institutions and a certain degree of civilization as early at least as the beginning of the Christian era. So that the native writers, with all their legends and overdrawn pictures of ancient Ireland, have some truth on their side.

Chapter VI

ST. PATRICK. 403-465 A. D.

READERS of our early history know that there were Christians in Ireland before the time of St. Patrick, for Palladius was sent to be bishop in 431 A. D. He had little success and was soon expelled. The next mission had a very different result. No nation in the world was converted to Christianity in so short a time as the Irish; and no missionary, after the age of the apostles, preached the Gospel with more success than St. Patrick. He was a man of strong will and great courage, with much tact and good sense; and wherever he went, the people he addressed were all the more willing to hearken to his preaching on account of the noble simplicity and purity of his life. He cared nothing for riches and honors, but he loved the people of Ireland, and his whole anxiety was to make them good Christians. We do not know for certain his birthplace; but the best authorities believe he was born near Dumbarton in Alban or Scotland, though others think in the west of Gaul. At that time both Gaul and Britain were under the Romans, and there is evidence that his family, whichever of the two places they belonged to, were Christians, and that they were in a respectable station of life, for his father Calpurn was a magistrate in the Roman service.

When Patrick was a boy of sixteen, he was, as we are told by himself in his writings, taken captive and brought to Ireland. This was about the year 403. He spent there six years of his life, a Christian alone among pagans. At the end of those six years of slavery Patrick escaped and made his way through many hardships and dangers to his home and family. During his residence in Ireland he had become familiar with the language of the people; and the memory of the pagan darkness in which they lived haunted him night and day, so that he formed the resolution to devote his life to their conversion. He first studied with great diligence for about four years in the large monastic school of St. Martin of Tours, and subsequently under St. Germain of Auxerre, and in 431 he set out for Ireland.

His life and work there is more or less traditional, and in some points controverted. Even his autobiography is unreliable, as he wrote it for the glory of the cause he represented. So although many of the traditions have elements of truth, the stories told here of him cannot be relied on absolutely.

He landed first at Wicklow, but being expelled sailed north and landed in the present county Down. Here Patrick announced his mission and explained his doctrine; and Dicho, the chief of the district, and his whole family became Christians and were baptized—the first of the Irish converted by St. Patrick. As there was no church, the chief presented him with a sabhall [saul] or barn for divine service, on the site of which a monastery was subsequently erected in honor of the saint, which for many ages was held in great veneration. And the memory of the happy event is preserved to this day in the name of the little village of Saul near Downpatrick. He remained in this neighborhood for some time, and the people, following the example of their chief, listened to his preaching, and were baptized in great numbers.

St. Patrick adopted, from the very beginning, a bold and courageous plan of preaching the Gospel in Ireland. He always made straight for the palaces and other great houses, and began by attempting to convert the kings and chiefs. He was well aware of the veneration of the clansmen for their ruling families, and he knew that once the king had become a Christian the people would soon follow. He had experienced the success of this plan in Saul, and now he came to the bold resolution to go to Tara, and present himself before King Laegaire [Leary] and his court. Traveling toward Tara he reached the hill of Slane the night before Easter, and lit the Paschal fire on the top of the hill. This was in violation of the law as to the king's fires, so the monarch instantly called his druids and questioned them about it, and they said: "If that fire which we now see be not extinguished to-night, it will never be extinguished, but will overtop all our fires: and he that has kindled it will overturn thy kingdom." The king therefore drove out to the hill and commanded Patrick to an interview the next morning.

The next day was Easter Sunday. Early in the morning Patrick and his companions set out for the palace, and on their way they chanted a hymn in the native tongue. The scene that was presented at the court of King Laegaire on that memorable Easter morning was very impressive. Patrick was robed in white, as

were also his companions; he wore his miter, and carried his crosier in his hand; and when he presented himself before the assembly, Dubthach [Duffa], Laegaire's chief poet, rose to welcome him, contrary to the express commands of the king. The saint, all aflame with zeal and unawed by the presence of king and court, explained to the assembly the leading points of the Christian doctrine, and silenced the king's druids in argument. Dubthach became a convert, and thenceforward devoted his poetical talents to the service of God: and Laegaire gave permission to the strange missionaries to preach their doctrines throughout his dominions. The king himself, however, was not converted; and for the remaining thirty years of his life he remained an unbeliever, while the paganism of the whole country was rapidly going down before the fiery energy of the great missionary.

Patrick next proceeded to Tailltenn, where, during the celebration of the national games, he preached for a week to the assembled multitudes, making many converts, among whom was Conall Gulban, brother to King Laegaire, the ancestor of the O'Donnells of Tirconnell. We find him soon afterward making for the plain where stood the great national idol Crom Cruach with the twelve lesser idols, all of which he destroyed.

About the year 438, with the concurrence of King Laegaire, he undertook the task of revising the Brehon Law. He was aided by eight others, among them King Laegaire himself, and at the end of three years this Committee of Nine produced a new code, free from all pagan customs and ordinances, which was ever after known as "Cain Patrick" or Patrick's Law. This law book, which is also called *Senchus Mór* [Shan'ahus More], has been lately translated and published.

On the approach of Lent he retired to the mountain which has ever since borne his name—Croagh Patrick or Patrick's Hill—where he spent some time in fasting and prayer. About this time, 449 A. D., the seven sons of Amalgaid [Awley] king of Connaught were holding a meeting in Tirawley, to which Patrick repaired. He expounded his doctrines to the wondering assembly, and the seven princes with twelve thousand persons were baptized. After spending seven years in Connaught, he visited successively Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, in each of which he preached for several years. Soon after entering Leinster, he converted, at the palace beside Naas where the Leinster kings then resided, the two princes

Illann and Olioll, sons of King Dunlang, who both afterward succeeded to the throne of their father. And at Cashel, the seat of the kings of Munster, he was met by the king, Aengus the son of Natfree, who conducted him into the palace on the rock with the greatest reverence, and was at once baptized.

Wherever St. Patrick went he founded churches, and left them in charge of his disciples. In his various journeys he encountered many dangers and met with numerous temporary repulses, but his courage and resolution never wavered, and success attended his efforts in almost every part of his wonderful career. He founded the see of Armagh about the year 455, and made it the head see of all Ireland. The greater part of the country was now filled with Christians and with churches, and the mission of the venerable apostle was drawing to a close. He was seized with his death illness in Saul, the scene of his first triumph, and he breathed his last on March 17, in or about the year 465, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

The news of his death was the signal for universal mourning. From the remotest districts of the island, clergy and laity turned their steps toward the little village of Saul, to pay the last tribute of love and respect to their great master. They celebrated the obsequies for twelve days and nights without interruption, joining in the ceremonies as they arrived in succession; and in the language of one of his biographers, the blaze of myriads of torches made the whole time appear like one continuous day.

Chapter VII

PROGRESS OF RELIGION AND LEARNING

DURING the lifetime of St. Patrick there was extraordinary religious fervor in Ireland which lasted for several centuries, such as, probably, has never been witnessed in any other country. There gathered round the great apostle a crowd of holy and earnest men, who, when they passed away, were succeeded by others as holy and as earnest, and the long succession continued unbroken for centuries. We have the lives of those men pictured in minute detail in our old writings, and it is impossible to look on them without feelings of wonder and admiration. They were wholly indifferent to bodily comfort or to worldly advancement. They traversed the country on foot, and endured without flinching privations and dangers of every kind for the one object of their lives—to spread religion and civilization among their rude countrymen; and when at home in their monasteries, many lived and slept in poor comfortless little houses, the remains of which may be seen to this day—places we should now hesitate to house our animals in. The lot of the poorest and hardest-worked laboring man of our time is luxury itself compared with the life led by many of those noble old missionaries. But even these were surpassed by those resolute Irishmen who went in crowds, in the seventh and eighth centuries, to preach the Gospel to the half-savage, ferocious, and vicious people who then inhabited Gaul, North Italy, and Germany.

It must not be supposed that all the people of Ireland were converted by St. Patrick and his companions. There were large districts never visited by them; and in many others the Christianity of the people was merely on the surface. Much pagan superstition remained; the druids still retained great influence; and for more than a century after St. Patrick's death Christianity had a hard struggle with paganism; so that there was plenty of work for his successors. Of these the two most illustrious were St. Brigit and St. Columba, who, of all the Irish saints, with the single exception of St. Patrick himself, are most venerated by the Irish people.

St. Brigit of Kildare was born about the year 453 at Faughart near Dundalk; but her father, who was a powerful chief, belonged to Leinster. She became a nun when very young, and after establishing various convents settled at Killdara, the church of the oak, now Kildare. This became the greatest and most famous nunnery ever established in Ireland. St. Brigit died on February 1, 523. She is affectionately revered in every part of Ireland.

St. Columba or Columkille was born in 521, of royal family, at Gartan in Donegal, but he gave up all the worldly advantages of his princely birth for religion. For sixteen years he preached and built churches, his chief establishment being at Durrow.

In the year of 563 Columba went with twelve companions to the little island of Iona on the west coast of Scotland, which had been granted to him by his relative the king of that part of Scotland. Here he settled, and founded the monastery which afterward became so illustrious. He converted the Picts, and he traversed the Hebrides, preaching to the people and founding churches wherever he went. After a life of incessant activity in the service of religion, his death sickness came upon him at Iona in the year 597, when he was seventy-six years of age. Among the Irish who became famous on the Continent were St. Gall and Scotus Erigena.

The early monastic clergy of Ireland may be said to have been mainly of two classes. Those of the one class settled in the inhabited districts, and concerned themselves with the functions of education and religious ministration. They went freely among chiefs and people, restrained their quarrels so far as they could, and instructed, assisted, and encouraged them by advice and example. Those of the other class gave themselves up to a life of prayer, contemplation, and work; and these took up their abode in remote islands or mountain valleys, places generally hard to reach, and often almost inaccessible. Here the little communities lived in huts, built by themselves, one for each individual, while near by was the little church for common worship. There was a very general inclination among religious men for this monastic hermit life in the early Christian ages—from about the middle of the sixth century; and on almost all the islands round the coast, as well as on those in the lakes and rivers, the remains of churches and primitive establishments are found to this day.

The churches built after the arrival of St. Patrick were generally of wood, but often of stone and mortar. For hundreds of

years they continued very simple and small, for the congregations were small, but in the twelfth century large and splendid churches began to be erected, both by the Anglo-Norman lords, and by the native chiefs. The ruins of numbers of the little stone churches of the early Christian times, and of the grand churches and monasteries of the twelfth and subsequent centuries, are still to be seen in various parts of the country. In connection with many of the churches and monasteries were slender round towers, used as belfries, and as keeps or fortresses, to which the inmates of the monasteries could retire for the time, with their valuables, in case of sudden attack by the Danes or others, which latter was their most important use. Some were probably also used as beacons and watch-towers. About eighty of the round towers still remain, of which upward of twenty are perfect.

Almost all churches and monasteries were founded on tracts of land granted for the purpose by kings or chiefs, and after their establishment they were supported, partly by donations and bequests, and partly by the labors of their communities. Many became rich, and their wealth was expended in relieving poverty, in entertaining guests, and in the production of those lovely works of art in gold, silver, and gems, which have been already described. Attached to every monastery, and forming part of it, was what was called the "Guest-house" for the reception of travelers; and some of the inmates were told off for this duty, whose business it was to receive the stranger, to wash his feet, and prepare supper and bed for him. Some of the monks too were skilled in simple herb remedies, and the poor people around often came to them for advice and medicine in sickness.

In the educational establishments, teaching afforded abundant employment to the scholarly members of the community. Others again worked at copying and multiplying books for the library, or for presentation outside; and to the industry of these scribes we owe the chief part of the ancient Irish lore, and other learning, that has been preserved to us. St. Columba devoted every moment of his spare time to this work, writing in a little wooden hut that he had erected for his use at Iona. Some spent their time in ornamenting and illuminating books—generally of a religious character, such as copies of portions of Scripture, and these men produced the wonderful penwork of the Book of Kells and other such manuscripts. Others were skilled metal-workers, and made crosiers,

crosses, bells, brooches, and other articles, of which many are preserved to this day, that show the surpassing taste and skill of the artists.

The cares of governing the household generally gave occupation enough to the abbot or head of the community; yet he is often found working in the fields, attending to the cattle, plowing or digging, or taking his turn in bringing corn on his back to the mill and grinding it for next day's food. St. Brigit, accompanied by a few of her nuns, often herded her sheep on the level sward round her nunnery in Kildare. With all this the inmates had of course their devotions and in most monasteries had to rise at sound of bell in the middle of the night, all the year round, and go to the church to prayers. Thus they led a busy and laborious life, contented and cheerful in the consciousness that they were doing good and useful work.

In ancient Ireland, religion and education went hand in hand, so that in tracing their history it is impossible to separate them. By far the greatest part of the education of the country was carried on by, or under the direction of, priests and monks, who always combined religious with secular teaching.

From the middle of the sixth century, schools rapidly arose all over the country, most of them in connection with these monasteries. Some had very large numbers of students, for we are told that there were 3000 under St. Finnen at Clonard, and some other schools, such as Bangor, had as many. A few of the students resided in the college, such as sons of kings and chiefs, and those who were literary foster children of the professors, but the most usual arrangement was that each student lived in a little hut of wood and sods, built by himself, or perhaps two or more joined and built a more commodious house for common use. Whole streets of these little houses surrounded the monastery. The huts of the scholars of St. Movi of Glasnevin, near Dublin, extended along the banks of the river Tolka near the present bridge. At stated times the students came forth in crowds to hear the lectures of the professors, which were often given in the open air.

In all the more important schools there were students from foreign lands. The majority were from Great Britain, from which they came in fleetloads, as Aldhelm, an English bishop of the year 705, expresses it. Numbers also came from the Continent, among whom were some princes: Aldfrid, King of Northumbria, and

825-700

Dagobert II., King of France, both, when in exile in the seventh century, found an asylum and were educated in Ireland, and others of like rank might be named. We get some idea of the numbers of foreigners from the words of Aengus the Culdee, an Irish writer of the ninth century, who mentions by name many Romans, Gauls, Germans, Britons, and even Egyptians, all of whom died in Ireland. Venerable Bede, describing the ravages of the yellow plague in 664, says: "This pestilence did no less harm in the island of Ireland. Many of the nobility and of the lower ranks of the English nations were there at that time: and some of them devoted themselves to a monastic life: others chose to apply themselves to study. The Scots willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with [manuscript] books to read, and their teaching, all gratis."

In the course of three or four centuries from the time of St. Patrick, Ireland became the most learned country in Europe: and it came to be known by the name now so familiar to us—*Insula sanctorum et doctorum,* the Island of Saints and Scholars.

In these great seminaries all branches of knowledge then known were taught; they were, in fact, the models of our present universities; and besides those persons preparing for a religious life, great numbers of young men, both native and foreign, the sons of kings, chiefs, and others, attended them to get a good general education. Laymen who distinguished themselves as scholars were often employed as professors in the monastic schools. But some few schools were purely lay and professional—for law, medicine, poetry, or literature, and these were taught generally by laymen.

At these colleges, whether clerical or lay, they had various degrees, as there are in modern universities. The highest was that of Ollave or Doctor; and there were ollaves of the several professions; so that a man might be an ollave poet, an ollave historian, an ollave builder, etc., just as we have now doctors of law, medicine, literature, and music. The full course for an ollave was twelve years; the lower degrees had shorter periods. Men of learning were held in great estimation and were much honored. They had many valuable allowances and privileges; and an ollave sat at table next to the king or chief.

Great numbers of Irishmen went to teach and to preach the Gospel in Great Britain, Wales, and Scotland. The Picts of Scotland, who then occupied the greatest part of the country, were

converted by St. Columba and his monks from Iona, and the whole western coasts of England and Wales abound in memorials of Irish missionaries. The monastery of Lindisfarne in Northumbria, which became so illustrious in after ages, was founded in 634 by Aidan, an Irish monk from Iona, and for thirty years after its foundation it was governed by him and by two other Irish bishops, Finan and Colman, in succession. So we see that William E. H. Lecky had good reason for his statement that "England owed a great part of her Christianity to Irish monks who labored among her people before the arrival of Augustine."

Whole crowds of ardent and learned Irishmen traveled to the Continent, spreading Christianity and general knowledge among people ten times more rude and dangerous in those ages than the inhabitants of these islands. "What," says Eric, a well-known French writer of the ninth century, "what shall I say of Ireland, who, despising the dangers of the deep, is migrating with almost her whole train of philosophers to our coasts?" Irish professors and teachers were in those times held in such estimation that they were employed in most of the schools and colleges of Great Britain and the Continent. And Irish teachers of music were quite as eminent and as much sought after as those of literature and philosophy, as has been already stated. We know that Charlemagne, who was crowned emperor of the West, 800 A. D., held the learned men from Ireland in great respect, and often invited them as guests to his table; and half a century later, Johannes Scotus Erigena (John the Irish Scot), the greatest scholar of his day, was on terms of affectionate intimacy with Charles the Bold, King of France. To this day in many towns of France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, Irishmen are venerated as patron saints. Nay, they found their way even to Iceland; for we have the best authority for the statement that when the Norwegians first arrived at that island, they found there Irish books, bells, crosiers, and other traces of Irish missionaries

For four or five hundred years after the time of St. Patrick, the monasteries were unmolested, and learning was cultivated within their walls. In the ninth and tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, science and art, the Gaelic language, and learning of every kind, were brought to their highest state of perfection. But a change for the worse had set in. The Danish inroads broke up most of the schools and threw everything into disorder. Then the mon-

800-1022

asteries were no longer the quiet and safe asylums they had been —they became indeed rather more dangerous than other places, so much did the Danes hate them—and learning and art gradually declined in Ireland. There was a revival in the time of Brian Boru, but this too was arrested by the troubles of the Anglo-Norman Invasion.

Chapter VIII

THE IRISH KINGS. 463-1022 A. D.

LAEGAIRE, it will be remembered, was son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. A few years after his death a battle was fought by his son Lewy at Tara, which decided the kingship in favor of the Hy Neills for five centuries.

From the cliffs of Antrim, on any clear day, you can see the blue hills and headlands of Scotland, forming a long line on the distant horizon. The Irish, or Gaels, or Scots, of Ulster, from the earliest ages, were in the habit of crossing over in their currachs to this lovely-looking coast, and some carried on a regular trade with Alban, as Scotland was then called, and many settled there and made it their home. Three hundred years before a large number of Munster fighting men had settled among the Picts, and the district was called Dalriada. Now in the reign of Lewy, 503 A. D., came the greatest of the colonizations of Scotland, under the brothers Fergus, Augus, and Lorne. They and their people were all Christians. Their colonial kingdom was subject and tributary to the kings of Ireland, and continued so for nearly three-quarters of a century. When then the Scottish king refused to pay the tribute a dangerous dispute arose, to settle which a famous meeting was held at Drum-Kelta. Among other eminent men, St. Columba came over from Iona to take part in the deliberations, and mainly through his influence, the king of Ireland wisely agreed that the little Scottish kingdom should be then and for evermore independent of the Irish monarchs. The people of this colony, having now free scope for their energies, ultimately mastered the whole country. Fergus was the ancestor of the subsequent kings of Scotland, and from him, through the Stuarts, descend, in one of their lines of pedigree, the present royal family of England.

Another important matter considered at this convention was the position of bards or poets, who were becoming insolent and troublesome, traveling about the country and demanding entertain-

ment. The proposition to suppress the entire order of bards was moderated through Columba's influence, and they were put under strict rules.

Troubles over the Boru tax disturbed several kings after this, but about 675 King Finaghta solemnly renounced the Boru for himself and his successors. This, however, did not end the trouble. After the lapse of some reigns other kings renewed the claim, and two more destructive battles were fought on account of it; after which this ill-omened tribute gradually fell into disuse, leaving, however, an evil mark on the country.

Before the close of the eighth century the Danes began to make descents on the coasts of Europe. From Jutland, Norway, Sweden, and in general from the coasts and islands of the Baltic, came forth swarms of daring robbers, who for two centuries kept the whole of western Europe in a state of continual terror. They appeared for the first time on the Irish coast in 795 A. D., when they plundered St. Columba's church on Lambay Island near Dublin. Once they had found the way, party after party continued to sail to Ireland, plundering and murdering wherever they came. They soon found out that many of the monasteries were rich in works of art: such as crosiers, shrines, books, bells, etc., ornamented with much gold, silver, and precious stones; and as they hated Christianity and learning of all kinds, they had a double motive in seeking out these establishments. Accordingly they plundered churches, monasteries, and libraries, both on the islands and on the mainland, and what they could not bring away they burned or otherwise destroyed, so far as lay in their power. Their movements, moreover, were so sudden and quick, that they generally made their escape before the people had time to intercept them. About the middle of the ninth century they established themselves permanently in Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford, where they built fortresses.

For some time in the beginning the Danes came in detached bands, each small party plundering on their own account, with no combined action. But at length, in 832 A. D., their scattered forces were united under their most renowned leader, Turgesius, who arrived with a great fleet, and was acknowledged leader by all the Danes then in Ireland. Other fleets soon followed under his direction; and he plundered and desecrated churches until he was defeated and taken prisoner by Malachi, King of Meath, who became Ard-ri, as Malachi I. in the year 846.

The Danes were often intercepted in their murderous raids and slaughtered without mercy by the Irish kings and chiefs: but this had not much effect in putting a stop to their ravages; for they were bold and brave, and faced danger and death with the utmost fearlessness. Moreover there was seldom any union among the Irish chiefs, who often fought more bitterly against each other than against the Northmen, and while they were fighting, the Danes were plundering.

In the second half of this tenth century the tide commenced to turn when two great men began their career: Malachi II., or Malachi the Great as he is often called, who became King of Ireland in 980, and Brian Boru, king of Munster, the man who was destined to crush finally the power of the Danes in Ireland.

When Brian was a young man, his elder brother Mahon was king of Munster. At this time the Danes held the chief fortresses of that province, and for a while the two brothers had to take refuge in the woods. The career of young Brian was singularly like that of Ælfred the Great, who lived only a short time before: at first borne down and driven to hide with a few followers in remote fastnesses by the overwhelming power of the Danes, but gradually gaining ground by never-failing pluck and determination. Even the brave Mahon at one time found it necessary to make peace, but the fiery young Brian would have no peace-dealings with the Danes, and at last the two brothers routed them in a decisive battle at Sulcoit. Shortly after Mahon was basely assassinated, and Brian was overwhelmed with grief. The old Irish record represents him as uttering this lament:

"The death of Mahon is grievous to me—
The majestic king of Cashel the renowned;
Alas, alas that he fell not in battle,
Under cover of his broad shield:
Alas, that in friendship he trusted
To the treacherous word of his betrayer.
It was an evil deed for those three chiefs
To murder the great and majestic king;
And if my hand retains its power,
They shall not escape my vengeance."

By this villainous deed Brian became king of Munster, and his first care was to avenge his brother's murder, which he did by defeating and slaying the three assassins one after another. From

that time forward, for about twenty-five years, his life was one of incessant warfare, chiefly against the Danes.

Meantime Malachi, in his own part of the country, was struggling against the foreigners bravely and successfully. He defeated them in a great battle at Tara in 979, the year before he was elected king of Ireland; and marching eastward, he took Dublin and liberated 2000 captives. Some time afterward, however, the Danes recovered the city, whereupon he again swooped suddenly down, and captured and plundered it in 996.

For many years after Malachi's accession in 980, he and Brian quarreled and fought, but at length in 998 they agreed to divide Ireland between them—Malachi taking the North and Brian the South. This displeased Mailmora, King of Leinster, and he joined the Danes. Brian and Malachi united and defeated and slew 4000 of the Danes and Leinstermen, in 999.

About this time Brian came to the determination to depose Malachi; and the better to strengthen himself he made alliances with those who had lately been his enemies. His next proceeding was to invade Malachi's territory, in 1002, in violation of the treaty of four years before; and he sent to him demanding submission or battle. Malachi finding he was not strong enough to resist, rode into Brian's encampment with merely a small retinue, and without any guarantee or promise of safety, depending on Brian's honor, and having told him plainly he would fight if he had been strong enough, he made his submission. From that year, Brian was acknowledged king of Ireland, Malachi going back to his own special kingdom of Meath.

After forty years of incessant warfare King Brian now devoted his mind to works of peace, like the great Ælfred of England. His palace, which was named Kincora, was situated on the high ridge over the Shannon now occupied by the town of Killaloe. He rebuilt the monasteries that had been destroyed by the Danes, and erected bridges and fortresses all over the country. He founded and restored schools and colleges, repressed evil-doers, and caused the laws to be obeyed, so that the country was less disturbed and more prosperous than it had been for a long time. The bright picture handed down to us of the state of Ireland during the dozen years that elapsed from his accession to the battle of Clontarf, is illustrated by the well-known legend, that a beautiful young lady richly dressed, and bearing a gold ring of great value on her wand,

traversed the country alone from north to south without being molested: a fiction which Moore has embalmed in the beautiful song "Rich and Rare Were the Gems She Wore."

Although chafing under Brian Boru's rule, the Danes dared not make any hostile move, for the old king was stern and strong, and while they hated him much they feared him more. It is likely that in the long run they would have taken some opportunity to break out and attempt his overthrow; yet the immediate circumstances that led to the battle of Clontarf were brought about, not by them, but by Mailmora, king of Leinster, and the occasion was a personal matter. With some of the Danes he attacked Malachi, who called on Brian for help, and the war went on without much result till Christmas, when the king returned to Kincora, determined to renew the campaign in the following spring.

Mailmora and the Danish leaders now began actively at the work of mustering forces for the final struggle. Sitric of the Silken Beard, Danish king of Dublin, acting under the directions of Gormlaith, the discarded wife of Brian, engaged the services of Sigurd, Earl of the Orkneys, as well as of Broder and Amlaff of the Isle of Man, the two earls of all the north of England, who promised to be in Dublin on Palm Sunday, the day fixed on for the meeting of all the confederates. These two Vikings brought 2000 men "having no reverence for God or for man, for church or for sanctuary." There came also 1000 men covered with coats of mail from head to foot: a very formidable band, seeing that the Irish fought as usual in tunics. Envoys were dispatched in other directions also: and troops of Norsemen sailed toward Dublin from Scotland, from the Isles of Shetland, from the Hebrides, from France and Germany, and from the distant shores of Scandinavia. While Sitric and others were thus successfully working abroad, Mailmora was equally active at home; and collected the forces of Leinster and arranged them in three great battalions within and around the walls of Dublin.

The Irish monarch had now no time to lose. On Holy Thursday evening the king got word that the Danes were making preparations to fight next day—Good Friday. The good King Brian was very unwilling to fight on that solemn day, but he was not able to avoid it. At dawn of day on Friday, April 23, 1014, the Irish army began their march from their encampment in three divisions. There were also two companies brought by the great

Stewards of Mar and Lennox in Scotland, who were related to the southern Irish, and who now come to aid them in their hour of need. The men of Meath, the southern Hy Neill, were also there under Malachi: the northern Hy Neill took no part in the battle. With the exception of Brian's son Donogh, who had been sent to devastate Leinster, every living man of the old king's family stood there that day to fight by his side. The ranks were in very close order; so solid looking that, in the language of one of the old records, it seemed as if a chariot could be driven along on their heads. The Danish and Leinster forces also formed three divisions. In the van were the foreign Danes under the command of Broder and Sigurd; behind these were the Danes of Dublin, and the Leinster men, led by Mailmora, formed the third division. Sitric, the King of Dublin, was not in the battle; he remained behind to guard the city. We are not told the numbers engaged, but there were probably about 20,000 men on each side.

In the march from the camping place the venerable monarch rode at the head of the army, but his sons and friends prevailed on him, on account of his age—he was now seventy-three—to leave the chief command to his son Murrogh. When they had come near the place of conflict, the army halted; and the king, holding aloft a crucifix in sight of all, rode from rank to rank and addressed them in a few spirited words. He reminded them that on that day their good Lord had died for them, and he exhorted them to fight bravely for their religion and their country. Then giving the signal for battle, he withdrew to his tent in the rear.

Little or no tactics appear to have been employed. It was simply a fight of man against man, a series of hand-to-hand encounters, and the commanders fought side by side with their men. On the evening before a Dane named Platt, one of the thousand in armor, had challenged any man of the Irish army to single combat, and he was taken up by Donall, the Great Steward of Mar. They fought in sight of the two armies till both fell, with the sword of each through the heart of the other, and hands entangled in each other's hair. The first divisions to meet were the Delcassians and the foreign Danes, then the men of Connaught and the Danes of Dublin fell on one another, and the battle soon became general. From early morning until sunset they fought without the least intermission. The thousand Danes in coats of mail were marked out for special attack, and they were all cut to pieces, for their armor was

no protection against the terrible battle-axes of the Delcassians. In the city Sitric and those with him strained their eyes to unravel the details of the terrible conflict. The old chronicle describes Murrogh as dealing fearful havoc. He mowed down men to the right and left; for he wielded a heavy sword in each hand, and needed no second blow. At last he came on Earl Sigurd, whom he found slaughtering the Delcassians. He slew his standard-bearer; and he and Sigurd had a hard fight, but neither Sigurd's magic banner nor strength availed, and he was felled to the earth.

Toward evening the Irish made a general and determined attack, and the main body of the Danes at last gave way—or, as the Danish Saga expresses it, "Then flight broke out throughout all the host." Crowds fled along the level shore toward Dublin, vainly hoping to reach either the ships or the bridge leading to the city. But Malachi, who had stood by till this moment, rushed down with his Meathmen and cut off their retreat. When the battle commenced in the morning there was high tide, and now, after the long day, the tide was again at flood, so that the ships lay beyond reach far out from shore. The flying multitude were caught between the Meathmen on the one side and the sea on the other, with the vengeful pursuers close behind, and most of those who escaped the sword were driven into the sea and drowned. The greatest slaughter of the Danes took place during this rout, on the level space now covered with streets, from Ballybough Bridge to the Four Courts.

So far we have related the disasters of the Danes. But the Irish had their disasters also; and dearly did they pay for their great victory. After the rout of the Danish main body, Murrogh came upon one of their scattered parties, and though he overcame the Danish leader, he received a mortal wound and died the next morning. Brian's fifteen-year-old grandson also died, being drowned with a Dane whom he had pursued.

But the crowning tragedy of the bloody day of Clontarf was yet to come. The aged king remained in his tent engaged in earnest prayer, while he listened anxiously to the din of battle. From time to time he asked his servant how the battle went, and the servant answered as well as he could see. Toward evening he reported the ranks as thinning, "and only a few great heroes are left to maintain the fight. The foreigners are now defeated, but the standard of Murrogh has fallen."

"Evil are those tidings," said the old warrior king; "if Murrogh is fallen the valor of the men of Erin is fled, and they shall never more look on a champion like him." And again he knelt and prayed.

And now came the great rout; and the guards of the king, thinking all danger past, eagerly joined in the pursuit, so that the king and his attendant were left alone. The king refused to flee, but spoke his last will to the attendant, and after this he resumed his prayers.

It happened that Broder, who had fled from the battle-field, came with some followers at this very time toward the tent. The servant so told the king, who rose from his cushion, and with his heavy sword cut off both of Broder's legs, but the Viking, even while falling, cleft the king's head with the axe. When the guards returned, they found the king dead.

As to the numbers killed, the records differ greatly. According to the annals of Ulster 7000 fell on the Danish side and 4000 on the Irish, which is probably about the truth. Almost all the leaders on both sides were slain, and among them Mailmora, the direct inciter of the battle.

The battle of Clontarf was the last great struggle between Christianity and heathenism. The news resounded through all Europe, and brought dismay and terror to every Norse household from the Baltic shore to their furtherest settlements in the south. The Nial Saga—the Danish chronicle—relates the whole story of the battle as a great defeat, and tells of fearful visions and portents seen by the Scandinavian people in their homes in the north, on that fatal Good Friday. It ought to be remembered that in the very year of this great battle, Sweyn the Dane overran and mastered England, and that after his death three Danish kings ruled the country in succession.

After the battle of Clontarf and the death of Brian, Malachi, by general consent, took possession of the throne. He reigned for eight years after, and gave evidence of his old energy by crushing some risings of the Danes—feeble expiring imitations of their ancient ferocious raids—and by gaining several victories over the Leinstermen. He died in 1022, in the seventy-third year of his age, leaving behind him a noble record of self-denial, public spirit, and kingly dignity.

Chapter IX

THE ANGLO-NORMANS. 1022-1175

BETWEEN the death of Malachi II. and the Anglo-Norman invasion about a century and a half elapsed, which was a period of great confusion, for the provincial kings waged incessant war with one another, striving who should be Ard-ri. These dissensions so weakened the country that the first Anglo-Norman invaders met with only a fitful and feeble resistance, and gained a foothold without any very great difficulty. Yet amid all this turmoil, the Irish kings continued to patronize and encourage learning and art, as is proved by works still remaining.

During this time there were eight provincial kings who are commonly set down as kings of Ireland, but not one of them made any pretense to rule the whole country; to every one there was opposition—a refusal to acknowledge his authority—from some one or more of the provinces. Hence these eight are known in history as "kings with opposition."

The first was Donogh, king of Munster, son of Brian Boru, who mastered all Ireland except Ulster, on which he never made any attempt. After some years he was deposed by rivals, and went on a pilgrimage to Rome, where he died.

After him, the "kings with opposition" were not prominent. In 1166, Roderick O'Conor, king of Connaught, having now no rival of any consequence, was made Ard-ri. He was the last native king of Ireland, and in his reign occurred some of the most important events in the long history of the country.

During this century and a half we hear little of the Danes. After the battle of Clontarf no attempt was made to expel them, so they remained in the country, but from that time forward they gave little trouble. Long before the period we have now arrived at they had become Christians, had settled down like the rest of the people, and devoted themselves to industry and commerce. At the time of the Invasion they formed a large part of the inhabitants of the seaport towns—Dublin, Carlingford, Larne, Wexford, Waterford, Limerick, and Cork, some of which were governed by Danish

chiefs, in a great measure or altogether independent of the Irish princes. Their towns were walled and fortified, while those of the natives continued, after the Irish fashion, open and unprotected. Although living very much apart, they intermarried a good deal with the natives, stood on the whole on good terms with them, and at first, as we shall see, generally took sides with them against the new invaders.

Though most of the great educational establishments had been broken up during the Danish ravages, many rose from their ruins or held their ground. There was a revival of learning and art in the time of Brian Boru, which continued after the Danes had been crushed at Clontarf. Even to the beginning of the twelfth century Ireland still retained some portion of her ancient fame for learning, and we find the schools of Armagh, Lismore, Clonmacnoise, Monasterboice, and others, still attracting great numbers of students, many of them foreigners. Moreover, some of the greatest scholars and writers the country ever produced flourished at this time, whose works we still have in our old books; and Irishmen still continued to distinguish themselves on the Continent. Art, too, was successfully cultivated in spite of all discouragements, and the exquisitely executed Cross of Cong was made in 1123.

The Anglo-Normans, who are henceforward to play a leading part in our history, were a great race, valiant, high-spirited, full of talents and full of energy. They were great builders, and filled England and Ireland with splendid castles, monasteries, and cathedrals, many of which still remain to bear witness to the grand ideas of their founders. But it is as mighty warriors that they are best known. Besides being personally brave and daring, they were very skillful in the sort of warfare and fighting suited to those times. They wore coats of mail, were celebrated for their skill in archery, using both the long and the cross bow, and what more than all helped to their success in war, they were under perfect discipline on the field of battle. But with all their noble qualities they were cruel and merciless to those who resisted them.

The Irish mode of going to battle was totally different. They were, man for man, as brave and as expert in the use of their weapons as the Anglo-Normans, quite as tall and muscular, as fearless and valiant. The Irish soldiers, especially the galloglasses, are praised by many English writers, one of whom, in the sixteenth century, says of them: "The galloglasses are picked and selected

men of great and mighty bodies, cruel without compassion. The greatest force of the battle consisteth in their choosing rather to die than to yield, so that when it cometh to handy blows they are quickly slain or win the field." Spenser, writing in the sixteenth century, says: "[The Irish soldiers] are very valiant, and hardie, for the most part great indurers of colde, labour, hunger, and all hardnesse, very active and strong of hand, very swift of foot, very vigilant and circumspect in their enterprises, very present [*i. e.*, having presence of mind] in perils, very great scorners of death."

But the Irish fighting men lacked the great tactical skill of their opponents, their discipline was loose, and they fought rather in crowds, than in regularly arranged ranks. They had no walled cities. Their surest defense was the nature of the country, full of impassable bogs and forests; and their best plan of warfare was to hang on the flanks and rear of an invading army and harass them as opportunity offered, retreating, when hard pressed, to their fastnesses, whither no enemy could follow. So long as they kept to this they could hold their own, and often did, even against superior numbers. But in open fighting their tunic-clad crowds were, number for number, no match for the steel-cased Anglo-Norman battalions. Nevertheless, as time went on they gradually learned the Anglo-Norman methods of warfare, and often turned them successfully against the invaders.

Dermot MacMurrogh was King of Leinster about the middle of the twelfth century. He was a headstrong and passionate man, and was as much hated in his own day as his memory has been hated ever since. In 1152 he carried off Dervorgilla, the wife of Tergnan O'Rourke, Prince of Brefni, while O'Rourke himself was absent from home. This and other conduct caused him to be deposed and banished, whereupon, breathing venegance, he fled across the sea, resolved to seek the aid of the great King Henry II. of England.

Many years before this time, Pope Adrian IV., an Englishman, influenced by an unfair and exaggerated account of the evil state of religion in Ireland given to him by an envoy of King Henry, issued a bull authorizing the king to take possession of Ireland. Some writers have questioned the issue of this bull. But the evidence is strong on the other side that the Pope did really issue it, believing that it would be for the advancement of religion and for the good of Ireland.

Dermot presented himself before the king at Aquitaine, and prayed him for help against his enemies, offering to acknowledge him as lord and master. The king accepted the offer; but being then too busy with the affairs of his own kingdom to go to Ireland himself, he gave permission to any of his British or French subjects that pleased to join the Irish king. Dermot immediately proceeded to Bristol, where he engaged the services of Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, better known by the name of Strongbow, who agreed to help him on condition that he should have Dermot's daughter Eva in marriage, and should succeed him as king of Leinster. At St. David's in Wales he engaged a number of the Geraldines, among them Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephen, to whom he promised the town of Wexford and the adjoining district. After this Dermot returned to his capital, where he remained during the winter of 1168.

In fulfillment of his engagement, Robert Fitzstephen, with a companion adventurer, Maurice Prendergast, landed in the month of May succeeding at the harbor of Bannow in Wexford, with a force of 100 knights and 600 archers, with common soldiers and attendants, amounting in all to about 2000 men; while Maurice Fitzgerald and others made their preparations to follow. Having been joined by Dermot and his son Donall Kavanagh, the united forces marched on the town of Wexford, and Fitzstephen straightway led his troops to scale the walls. The first attack was valiantly repulsed. Next morning, when he was about to renew the assault, the clergy, wishing to avoid further bloodshed, persuaded the people already awed to yield up the town, and Dermot's subjects very unwillingly placed themselves again under the authority of their hated king. After this, Dermot carried out his promise by making large grants of land to Fitzstephen and others. And having an old grudge against his neighbor, Mac Gilla Patrick, King of Ossory, he and the strangers ravished that district with fire and sword, though not without spirited resistance.

When King Roderick O'Conor heard of these proceedings, he became alarmed, and collecting a large army he marched to Ferns, where he found Dermot and his allies strongly entrenched. But Roderick was a feeble-minded king, having none of the spirit or vigor of Niall Glunduff or Brian Boru of the olden time; and instead of promptly crushing the rebellious king and his small party of foreigners, as he might have done, he made peace with him, and

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restored him to his kingdom, on condition that he should send home the strangers, and bring hither no more of them. The treacherous Dermot had no intention of keeping to this treaty: he merely wanted to gain time, and when Maurice Fitzgerald landed soon afterward, the whole party, natives and foreigners, marched on Dublin and forced the Danish king Hasculf Mac Turkill to submit to them.

At last Dermot resolved to make himself king of Ireland, and sent a pressing message to Strongbow to come over. Strongbow embarked with an army of 3000 men, and landed, in August of 1170, near Waterford. He was immediately joined by Raymond Fitzgerald, better known as Raymond le Gros (the corpulent), the bravest and most distinguished of all his officers—who had come over some time before—by Miles de Cogan, and by Dermot, and with the combined army of about 5500 men they attacked and captured the city of Waterford, slaughtering great numbers of the inhabitants. The Danish chief Reginald, and O'Faelan, Prince of the Decies, were taken prisoners and locked up in an old Danish castle, then and still called Reginald's tower; but as they were about to be executed Dermot interposed and saved them. After the fight, and while the streets still ran red with the blood of the citizens, Strongbow and Eva were married in fulfillment of Dermot's promise. Scarcely had the ceremony ended when news came that Hasculf of Dublin had revolted; whereupon Strongbow and Dermot set out for Dublin by a difficult way, and captured the city after a massacre. Hasculf escaped, and Dermot and Strongbow remained in possession of the city.

The fame of the great conquests made by Strongbow got noised abroad, so that it came to the ears of King Henry. Fearing that Strongbow might make himself king, he issued an edict forbidding further intercourse with Ireland, and at the same time he began to prepare for his own expedition. This reduced Strongbow and his army to great distress in Dublin, for they were unable to procure either men or provisions, as all supplies from over sea were stopped. And a worse danger now threatened them. The patriotic Archbishop of Dublin, Laurence O'Toole, went through the country and persuaded the kings and chiefs to unite in an attempt to crush the invaders; and a great army was soon encamped in separate detachments round about the city, under King Roderick's command. After two months' siege, the garrison, with hunger staring them in the face and no hope of relief, came to the resolution to attempt to

cut their way in a body through the enemy, and so escape. About three o'clock in the afternoon, the desperate little band, 600 Anglo-Normans with some Irish under Donall Kavanagh, suddenly sallied out and took the Irish completely by surprise; and the king himself, who happened to be in his bath at the time, escaped with much difficulty half naked from the field. The panic spread rapidly, so that the various scattered contingents broke up and fled. And the garrison returned triumphant to the city, laden with booty, and with provisions enough for a whole year.

Meantime King Henry had been busily preparing, and on October 18, 1171, he landed at Crook a little below Waterford, with many of his nobles, and an army of 4400 knights and men at arms. Counting common soldiers and attendants, he probably had 10,000 fighting men. To resist such a force was out of the question, and most of the Irish princes and chiefs made their submission to him. He now rewarded his followers by grants of large tracts of country, giving away the lands belonging to the natives without the least scruple. Leinster was granted to Strongbow, with the exception of Dublin and some other maritime towns; the province of Meath to Hugh de Lacy, and Ulster to John de Courcy. In all the chief towns he left governors. He granted Dublin to a colony of Bristol people, with De Lacy as governor, who is generally regarded as the first viceroy of Ireland. Having completed these arrangements, the king embarked at Wexford in April and returned to England. From the moment of his departure his arrangements were all disregarded, and his followers did just as they pleased, plundering and harassing the unfortunate natives without mercy and without restraint. But the natives were now beginning to profit by the skill of their adversaries, and often successfully defended themselves. As the disturbances continued, the king appointed Strongbow viceroy in the following year, 1173, hoping that by increasing his authority he might be able to reduce the country to quietness.

Chapter X

ANGLO-IRISH LORDS. 1173-1272

MOST of the adventurers who settled in Ireland in the time of Henry II. belonged to good families of ancient and honorable descent. But nearly all of them were men who had run through their estates by extravagance; and being brave and daring as well as poor, they were ready to engage in any enterprise, however dangerous, that held out hope of retrieving their fortunes. After they had settled down in Ireland in the districts granted them by the king, they became great and powerful, and from them the chief Anglo-Irish families were derived. Among these the most distinguished were the Geraldines (Fitzgeralds, Barrys, Cogans, Graces, and others); the Butlers; and the De Burgos (Burkes, Mac Williams, Mac Davids, etc.). Maurice Fitzgerald was the chief founder of the family of the Geraldines, of whom there were two main branches: one in Leinster, whose chiefs became, first, Barons of Offaly, then Earls of Kildare, and finally Dukes of Leinster; the other in Munster, whose heads were Earls of Desmond. The Butlers settled in Leinster, and their chiefs became Earls, and finally Dukes, of Ormond. The family of De Burgo was founded by William de Burgo; they settled chiefly in Connaught.

It was related at the end of the last chapter how Strongbow had been appointed viceroy in 1173 by King Henry. No sooner had he entered on his new duties than troubles began to thicken round him. He found most of the Irish princes in revolt, notwithstanding their forced submission to the king, and the money he had brought was soon spent, so that he had no pay for his soldiers. This naturally made the men discontented; and another circumstance that greatly increased their ill humor was that a general whom they hated had been placed over them, instead of their favorite leader, Raymond le Gros. Raymond was their idol, for he was a brave and dashing officer, and in all his expeditions had given them full license to plunder.

Strongbow was forced to give back Raymond to them, and he led the men off on a free-booting excursion. Shortly after this Strongbow suffered a severe defeat while Raymond was away, and had to wait for Raymond's return to be rescued. Despite secret evil reports of his enemies, which brought about his summons to England, Raymond's power over the soldiers was so great that he had to be restored to the command upon an uprising in Limerick. While Raymond was in the South attending to this, news came to him of Strongbow's death, and he returned to Dublin. As soon as the king heard the news, being still jealous of the brilliant soldier Raymond, he appointed William de Burgo viceroy in this same year, with John de Courcy, Robert Fitzstephen, and Miles de Cogan to assist him. Raymond met them near Wexford, and having given them a most respectful reception, he delivered up his authority to the new viceroy without a murmur. After this we hear little more of Raymond le Gros in public life. He retired to his estates in Wexford, where he resided quietly till his death, which took place in 1182.

De Burgo, the new governor, was from the first disliked by the colonists: for he wished for peace and discouraged outrage on the natives; whereas war was what the colonists most desired, as it brought them plunder and sure increase of territory. Among all his officers not one was so discontented as Sir John de Courcy. He was a man of gigantic size and strength, brave and daring; and he now resolved to attempt the conquest of Ulster, which the king had granted to him five years before. Setting out with great speed, he came to Downpatrick. As there were no walls, the townspeople knew nothing of the expedition till they were startled at dawn by the martial sound of bugles and the clattering of cavalry in the streets. The adventurers were half starved as they entered the town; and they fell upon everything they could lay hands on: they ate and drank, plundered, killed, and destroyed, till half the town was in ruins.

At the end of a week Mac Dunlevy, Prince of Ulidia, came with a large undisciplined army to attack him. De Courcy, nothing daunted, went out to meet them, and chose a favorable position to withstand the assault. The Irish rushed on with tumultuous bravery, but they were not able to break the disciplined ranks of the enemy, and after a furious fight they were repulsed with great loss.

Still the Ulstermen continued to offer the most determined

resistance. The valiant De Courcy battled bravely through all his difficulties, and three several times in the same year, 1177, he defeated in battle the people of the surrounding districts. But as time went on he met with many reverses, and he had quite enough to do to hold his ground. Other adventurers arrived to join him from time to time; and, as opportunities offered, he built many castles in vantage points all over the province; so that as years went by he strengthened his position in Ulster.

While these events were taking place in the northern province, the country in and around the English settlement in Leinster still continued to be very much disturbed, and the king determined to send over his son, Prince John, hoping that his presence would restore tranquillity. The prince, then nineteen years of age, landed at Waterford (1185) with a splendid retinue and a large body of cavalry. He had the title of Lord of Ireland; and his secretary and tutor was a Welsh priest named Gerald Barry, now better known as Geraldus Cambrensis, or Gerald of Wales, who afterward wrote in Latin a description of Ireland and a history of the Anglo-Norman invasion. But Prince John soon raised the whole country in revolt by his foolish and vicious conduct, and he even turned the old colonists against him by contemptuous treatment. The Irish chiefs crowded to him in Waterford, both to pay him respect and to acknowledge him as their lord; but his insolent young associates—close-shaven dandies—ridiculed their dress and manners, and insulted them by plucking their beards, which they wore long, according to the custom of the country.

Incensed by this treatment, the proud Irish nobles withdrew to their homes, brooding mischief. The settlements were attacked at all points, a great number of the new strongholds were taken, and many of the bravest of the Anglo-Norman chiefs were slain. The colonists were driven to take refuge in the towns; and almost the whole of Prince John's army perished in the numerous conflicts.

When the country had been for some time in this state of turmoil, King Henry came to hear how matters stood, and at once recalled the prince, after a stay of about eight months, appointing De Courcy viceroy. The prince, both before and after his return, threw the whole blame of the disturbance on Hugh de Lacy. This De Lacy, though not the greatest warrior, was the wisest and best governor of all the barons who served King Henry in Ireland; he built strong castles all over Meath, and greatly increased his power

and influence with the Irish by marrying a daughter of the old king Roderick O'Conor, so that he was accused by the prince of conspiring to make himself king of Ireland. But he never lived to clear himself, for in 1186 he was killed by a young Irishman to avenge his public misdeeds.

De Courcy, during his viceroyalty, invaded Connaught, plundering, burning, and slaying, after his usual fashion, much like the Danes of old; but before he had advanced far into the province, he was confronted by the two kings of Connaught and Thomond—Conor Mainmoy and Donall O'Brien—with their united armies. Not venturing to give battle to this formidable force, he retreated northward, his only anxiety now being to save himself and his army from destruction. On his retreat he was threatened by the Prince of Tirconnel and other opponents, and it was with much difficulty he escaped with the remnant of his army into Leinster.

Later, in 1200, he was tempted to try his fortune a second time in Connaught, during a contest for the throne among the O'Conor princes. He and Hugh de Lacy the younger (son of the great de Lacy) were both induced by one of the claimants to come to his assistance in the struggle for the throne of Connaught. The result was no better than before. The allies were ambuscaded, and in the retreat many were killed or drowned.

The career of this extraordinary man ended in ruin and disgrace. Hugh de Lacy took every means to poison King John's mind against him. He was proclaimed a rebel and a traitor, and De Lacy, now lord justice, was commissioned to arrest him. After several unsuccessful attempts, De Courcy was at length, in 1204, betrayed by some of his own servants, who led De Lacy's men to his retreat at Downpatrick, where he was taken. Some records relate that his enemies came down on him on Good Friday, when he was barefooted and unarmed, doing penance in the cathedral of Downpatrick, and that he snatched up the nearest weapon—a great wooden cross standing on a grave—with which he dashed out the brains of thirteen of his assailants before he was overpowered. After his arrest history loses sight of him; and we know nothing certain of his subsequent fortunes or how he ended his life. Some Anglo-Irish historians indeed tell several very interesting stories about him, but they are all fabulous.

By whatever title the governor of Ireland was known, he was supposed to stand in place of the king, and he usually resided in

Dublin, but he seldom or never had an army large enough to enable him to enforce his authority. The kings of England took good care not to allow their governors a sufficient army, fearing that some of them might become strong enough to make himself an independent king of Ireland. This absence of a strong central government, owing to the jealousy of the kings, was the root of most of the evils that afflicted Ireland now and for ages afterward. The great barons, who were settled all over the country, were well aware of their governor's weakness, and cared very little for his authority; and they generally cared just as little for the authority of the king, who was at too great a distance to reach them, or even to obtain much information of their proceedings. They ruled like independent princes, taxed their people, made war or peace, and raised armies and fought, just as they pleased. Bad as was the state of things before the Invasion, it was much worse now, for there were more people to quarrel, with less means of checking them. The native chiefs continued to wrangle and fight among themselves, the same as before; the barons fought with each other even more bitterly; and all this time the English were everywhere making inroads on the Irish to win new lands, while the Irish defended their homes as best they could. The King of England came over at odd times, always with an army, and while he remained in the country there was quietness, but the moment he reëmbarked, or ceased to keep a direct watch on the barons, all was again turmoil and bloodshed. What is here related will give the reader a good idea of the hard ordeal of suffering the unhappy country had to pass through during this thirteenth and many subsequent centuries.

In the first years of the reign of King John the country was all in confusion, of which he was kept well informed by his agents. Seeing no prospect of improvement so long as things were permitted to go in their usual course, he resolved to pay a visit to Ireland and to reduce the turbulent barons and chiefs to submission. In 1210 he landed at Cork, near Waterford, with a formidable army, and from the very day of his arrival the fighting ceased, the most troublesome of the barons fled, and the country became tranquil. As he had no fighting to do, he employed himself more usefully in making arrangements for the better government of the country. Those parts of Ireland which were under English jurisdiction he parceled out into twelve counties or shires, and this was the beginning of the subdivision into counties, such as we now have

them. The twelve formed by King John are Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Uriel (or Louth), Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Tipperary.

He directed that in these twelve counties English law should be administered, and for this purpose he had courts of justice erected, and appointed magistrates and other officers to hold sessions and decide cases. But it must be borne in mind that all this was for the settlers only, not for the natives, who were then and for long afterward outside the pale of the law. So far as they went, King John's arrangements were sensible and useful. He returned to England in August, after a stay of about two months, and during the remainder of his reign Ireland was moderately quiet.

The century that elapsed from the death of John and the accession of Henry III. (1216) to the invasion of Edward Bruce was a period of strife and bloodshed, a period of woe and misery for the common people: it seemed as if the whole island was abandoned to anarchy. What is sometimes called the "War of Meath," for it was in fact a civil war on a small scale—a destructive feud between William Marshal, the owner of vast estates in Leinster, and Hugh de Lacy the younger—began in 1224, and continued unchecked till the whole of Meath was wasted. Scarcely was this strife ended when another—the "War of Kildare"—broke out. After William Marshal's death, his brother Richard, a handsome, valiant, noble-minded knight, inherited his title and estates. He was in England at the time of his brother's death; and having incurred the anger of King Henry III., fled to Ireland. There several of the leading men conspired to destroy him, hoping to share his vast estates. He was wounded, captured, and died in his captors' hands, but the plot was revealed, and the assassins gained nothing.

In these Leinster counties there was at this time a mixed population of English settlers and native Irish, most of them quiet people, who wished for nothing more than to be permitted to till their farms, herd their cattle, and live with their families in peace. But these everlasting feuds of the barons stopped all industry, and brought death and desolation everywhere.

While this warfare was going on in Leinster, Connaught was in a state of strife which lasted for many years; and the struggles among the several claimants of the O'Conor family for the throne of Connaught went on unceasingly: battles, skirmishes, and raids without number. The English, under William Marshal, De Burgo,

or others, were mixed up in most of these contests, now siding with one of the parties, now with another; but always keeping an eye to their own interests. And thus the havoc and ruin went on unchecked.

At length one of the O'Conors—Felim, nephew of the old Ard-ri Roderick—established himself in 1249, by sheer force of energy and bravery, on the throne of Connaught, in spite of all enemies, both English and Irish, and reigned without interruption till his death in 1265.

The condition of Leinster and Connaught has been sketched, and the state of things in Ulster and Munster was almost as bad.

In 1257 Maurice Fitzgerald, who had been twice lord justice, marched with his army northward, resolved to bring Ulster completely under English rule. But he was intercepted by Godfrey O'Donnell, chief of Tirconnell, and a furious battle was fought. The two leaders, Fitzgerald and O'Donnell, met in single combat and wounded each other severely; the English were routed; and Fitzgerald retired to the Franciscan monastery of Youghal, in which he died the same year, probably of his wounds.

As for O'Donnell, he lay for a whole year sinking daily under his wounds; and all this time the Tirconnellians had no chief to lead them. While in this condition, the Prince of Tyrone attacked, but was routed, the heroic O'Donnell being carried on a bier in front of his troops. Immediately after, the heroic chief died.

Some of the Irish chiefs now attempted to unite against the common enemy, choosing Brien O'Neill for leader (1260), but they were defeated by the English in a bloody battle at Downpatrick, and O'Neill and a large number of chiefs were slain.

In the south, the Mac Carthys of Desmond, seeing their ancient principality continually encroached upon by the Geraldines, became exasperated, and attacked and defeated them in 1261 at Callan, near Kenmare, after which they demolished numbers of the English castles. But they soon quarreled among themselves, and the Geraldines gradually recovered all they had lost.

While this universal strife was raging in Ireland, Henry III. died, and was succeeded by Edward I. in 1272. During Edward's reign, the Irish chiefs petitioned to be placed under English law, but though this great king was himself willing to grant the petition, the Anglo-Irish lords persuaded him to reject it.

Chapter XI

BRUCE'S INVASION AND INTERNAL STRIFE
1315-1377

MATTERS were, as we have seen, in a very disturbed state during the thirteenth century, but we might almost say that it was peace itself compared with the three and a half years of Bruce's expedition in Ireland.

The Irish people, especially those of the north, viewed with great interest and sympathy the struggles of their kindred in Scotland for independence; and Robert Bruce's glorious victory over Edward II. at Bannockburn (in 1314) filled them with joy and hope. Soon after the battle the native chiefs of Ulster, with the Anglo-Irish De Lacys and Bissetts, dispatched messengers praying Bruce to send his brother Edward to be king over them. He eagerly accepted the proposal; and on May 25, 1315, Edward Bruce, accompanied by many of the Scottish nobles, landed at Larne with an army of 6000 of the best soldiers of Scotland. He was immediately joined by Donall O'Neill, and by numbers of the northern Irish; and the combined forces overran a great part of Ulster, destroying everything belonging to the English that came in their way, and defeating their armies in several battles. Moving southward, they stormed and burned Dundalk and Ardee; and at this latter place they set fire to the church of the Carmelite friary, in which a number of people had taken refuge, and burned them all to death. From first to last the campaign was carried on with great cruelty, and with reckless waste of life and property. All food except what was needed for the use of the army was destroyed, though there was a famine, and the people were starving all over the country.

The two leading Anglo-Irish noblemen at this time were Richard De Burgo, the Red Earl of Ulster, and Sir Edmund Butler, the lord justice. The Red Earl, who was lord of the greatest part of the two provinces of Ulster and Connaught, and was by far the most powerful nobleman in Ireland—much more high and mighty

than even the lord justice—raised a large army, chiefly in Connaught, and set out in quest of the invaders. His march north through the Irish districts was perhaps more savagely destructive than that of Bruce, if indeed that were possible; and his reason for thus destroying the property of the Irish people as he marched along, was that he believed they were all in favor of Bruce, which was not the case.

The King of Connaught had joined the English army, but at a critical moment had to withdraw to suppress a rebellion of his own, and Bruce wholly defeated the English. Soon after the battle, Bruce had himself proclaimed King of Ireland and formally crowned. Within a few months he won two more battles.

The preceding harvest had been a bad one, and scarcity and want prevailed all over the country. Nevertheless the Scottish army, wherever they went, continued to ravage and destroy all they could not consume or bring away, multiplying tenfold the miseries of the people, both English and Irish.

The King of Connaught, having crushed in blood the revolt in Connaught, now changed sides and declared for Bruce. Intending to expel all the English from the province, he marched to Athenry with a large army; but was there defeated and slain, in 1316, in a great battle. This was by far the most decisive and fatal defeat ever inflicted on the Irish since the invaders first set foot on Irish soil. King Robert had come over to aid his brother; and early in the spring of 1317 they both set out for Dublin with an army of 20,000, destroying everything in their march. The citizens of Dublin took most determined measures for defense, burning all outside the walls, both houses and churches, to deprive the Scots of shelter; so that the Bruces did not think it prudent to enter on a siege; and they resumed their destructive march till they reached Limerick. But as they found this city so well prepared for defense, and as there was still great scarcity of provisions, they returned northward after a short stay. They had to traverse the very districts they had wasted a short time before; and in this most miserable march, vast numbers of them perished of cold, hunger, and disease—scourged by the famine they had themselves created.

After this, King Robert, believing it hopeless to attempt the complete conquest of the country, returned to Scotland; but Edward remained, determined to fight it out to the end. The two armies rested inactive, and there was a lull for a time, probably on account

of the terrible dearth of food. But now came an abundant harvest, and both sides prepared for action. Bruce turned south for another conquering progress, but was met at Faughart by an army much more numerous than his own. He was strongly advised not to fight till more men, who were on their way from Scotland, should arrive; but he was rash and headstrong, and despised his opponents, declaring he would fight if they were four times more numerous. The battle fought here on October 14, 1318, terminated the war. The issue was decided chiefly by Sir John Maupas, an Anglo-Irish knight, who made a dash at Bruce and slew him in the midst of the Scots. Maupas was instantly cut down, and after the battle his body was found pierced all over, lying on that of Bruce. The invading army was defeated with great slaughter and the main body of the survivors, including the De Lacys, escaped to Scotland. The body of Bruce was cut in pieces to be hung up in the chief towns in the colony, and the head was brought in a box, salted, to King Edward II.

And so ended the celebrated expedition of Edward Bruce. Though it was a failure, it shook the Anglo-Irish government to its foundation and weakened it for centuries. Ulster was almost cleared of colonists; the native chiefs and clans resumed possession, and there were similar movements in other parts of Ireland, though not to the same extent. There had been such general, needless, and almost insane destruction of property, that vast numbers of the people of all classes, settlers and natives, chiefs and peasants, lost everything and sank into hopeless poverty. The whole country was thrown into a state of utter disorder, from which it did not recover till many generations had passed away. And to add to the misery, there were visitations of famine and pestilence—plagues of various strange kinds—which continued at intervals during the whole of the century. The native Irish historians of the time regarded the expedition of Bruce with great disfavor, for they looked upon it as answerable for a large part of the evils and miseries that afflicted their unfortunate country.

The Anglo-Irish government now grew weaker year by year, and the English, far from invading new territories, had more than they could do to defend those they had already acquired. For the Irish, taking advantage of their dissensions and helplessness, attacked them everywhere and recovered a great part of their lands.

Moreover, about this time the English all over the country

were fast becoming absorbed into the native population. The Irish, like the Celtic tribes everywhere, have always had a sort of fascinating power over people of other races settling among them, a power to make them in all respects like themselves: and in fact all the settlers before the Ulster Plantation, and most of those after it, have fallen under this spell. But about the time we are now dealing with, there were two powerful artificial influences to help this natural process. First: the colonists, seeing the Irish prevailing everywhere, joined them for mere protection, intermarrying with them and adopting their language, dress, and customs. Second: the government had all along made a most mischievous distinction between New English and Old English—English by birth and English by blood. They favored Englishmen who came over to better their fortunes—men who never did anything for Ireland—and gave them most of the situations of trust, putting them over the heads of the Old English, those who had borne the brunt of the struggle. This so incensed the old colonists that a large proportion of them—Geraldines, Butlers, De Burgos, and others—turned against the government and joined the Irish. These "degenerate English," as they were called, were regarded by the loyal English with as much aversion as the Irish, and returned hate for hate quite as cordially; and later on, as we shall see, some of the most dangerous leaders of rebellion were Anglo-Irish noblemen. So completely did they become fused with the native population, that an English writer complained that they had become "more Irish than the Irish themselves."

The whole country was now feeling the consequences of the Bruce invasion, and there were murderous broils everywhere among the English themselves, with little or no check. There were several murders and massacres, one of which, that of De Burgo, the Brown Earl of Ulster, lost a great part of Ireland to the government, and helped to hasten the incorporation of the English with the Irish. He left one child, a daughter, who according to English law was heir to her father's vast possessions in Ulster and Connaught, about one-fourth of the whole Anglo-Irish territory. The two most powerful of the Connaught De Burgos, knowing that whoever this girl might marry, when she grew up, would come over their heads, seized the estates, declared themselves independent of England, and adopted the Irish dress, language, and law. They took also Irish names. And their example was followed by many other Anglo-

Irish families, especially in the west and south. Almost the only part of the settlement that remained English, and loyal to England, was the district round Dublin, which was afterward called the Pale. The poor settlers of this district were all this time in a most miserable condition. They were scourged by the Black Death and other terrible plagues, and oppressed and robbed by their own rulers. And as the government was not able to afford them protection, they had to pay "black rents" to some of the Irish chiefs round the borders, to protect them from the fierce attacks of the natives. These black rents, too, were often paid by the Irish Government as well as by private individuals.

The uprising of the Irish became so general and alarming that, in 1330, the viceroy called in the aid of the most powerful nobleman in the country, Maurice Fitzgerald, who was at the same time created the first Earl of Desmond. This only made matters worse; for Fitzgerald, after some successful expeditions, quartered his army, to the number of 10,000, on the colonists, that they might pay themselves by exacting coyne and livery: the first time the English adopted this odious impost, which afterward became so frequent among them, and of which it was said, "That if it had been practiced in Hell as it hath been in Ireland, it had long since destroyed the kingdom of Beelzebub."

The unfortunate colonists, exposed to all sorts of exactions and hardships, depressed by poverty and scourged by pestilence, quitted the doomed country in crowds—everyone fled who had the means—and the settlement seemed threatened with speedy extinction. The native Irish were not less wretched than the English; for the Black Death visited them, too, and the continual wars brought quite as much misery on them as on the people of the Pale.

While the Pale was daily becoming more and more enfeebled, the great barons, in their strong castles all over the country, caring nothing for the English interest, but very much for their own authority and grandeur, became more dangerously powerful year by year; so that King Edward III. feared them, and came to the determination to break down their power. He made three attempts to do so, by sending over three governors, at different times from 1331 to 1334, with instructions to carry out his design; but all three failed, and in the end the nobles remained in much the same position as before, till the time of Henry VIII.

Wherever a colony of English were settled, the two peoples—

English and Irish—after some time, when they came to know each other, generally lived on good terms and often intermarried—Englishmen generally taking Irish wives—and the English learned to speak the Irish language, instead of the Irish learning English. But there were some evil influences from the outside to prevent this kindly intercourse—tending to make the people hostile rather than friendly toward each other. One of these was the state of the law.

After the English settlement in 1172 there were two distinct codes of law in force in Ireland—the English and the Brehon. The English law was for the colonists; it did not apply to the Irish: and an Irishman that was in any way injured by an Englishman had no redress. He could not seek the protection of English law, which gave the judges and magistrates no power to try the case; and if he had recourse to the Brehon law, the Englishman need not submit to it. But on the other hand, an Irishman who injured an Englishman in any manner was at once tried by English law and punished, if the matter was proved against him. So that all those of the native race who lived among or near the colonists were in a position of great hardship, humiliation, and danger. This state of things was not indeed brought about with any intention to give the English license to injure their Irish neighbors. The colonists were simply placed under English law without any thought of the Irish one way or the other. But the fact that it was unintentional in no way lessened the danger; and many instances are on record of Englishmen inflicting great injury on Irishmen—sometimes even killing them—knowing well that there was no danger of punishment. Accordingly, about this time, the Irish several times petitioned to be placed under English law; but though both Edward I. and Edward III. were willing to grant this petition, the selfish Anglo-Irish barons persuaded them that it would do great injury to the country, and so prevented it; for it was their interest that the Irish should be regarded as enemies, and that the country should be in a perpetual state of disturbance.

But there were also direct attempts made to keep the English and Irish people asunder, especially by a law known as the "Statute of Kilkenny," which was brought about in this way. King Edward III., when he was made aware of the critical state of the colony, resolved to send over his third son Lionel, afterward Duke of Clarence, as lord lieutenant. This young prince had married Elizabeth, the only child of the Brown Earl of Ulster, who had been murdered,

and in her right had become Earl of Ulster and Lord of Connaught. But he was a most unsuitable person to have the government of the country in his hands, for he had an insane hatred of the Irish, whether of native or English blood. With a force of 1500 trained soldiers he came to Ireland in 1361, but in his expeditions against the natives he was very unsuccessful: and twice afterward he came as lord lieutenant, in 1364 and 1367. After this experience he became convinced that it was impossible ever to subdue the Irish and bring them under English rule; and he seemed to think that all the evils of the country arose from the intercourse of the colonists with them. This state of things he attempted to remedy by an act which he caused to be passed by a parliament held in Kilkenny, and which he imagined would be the means of saving the colony from destruction.

The Statute of Kilkenny was intended to apply only to the English, and was framed entirely in their interests. Its chief aim was to withdraw them from all contact with the "Irish enemies," as the natives are designated all through the act; to separate the two races for evermore.

According to this law, intermarriage, fosterage, gossipred, traffic, and close relations of any kind with the Irish were forbidden as high treason: the punishment, death.

If any man took a name after the Irish fashion, used the Irish language or dress, rode a horse without a saddle, or adopted any other Irish custom, all his lands and houses were forfeited, and he himself was put into jail till he could find security that he would comply with the law. The Irish living among the English were forbidden to use the Irish language under the same penalty; that is, they were commanded to speak English, a language they did not know. To use the Brehon law—as many of the English, both high and low, were now doing—or to exact coyne and livery was treason.

No Englishman was to make war on the Irish without the special permission of the government, who would carry on all such wars, "so that," as the act expresses it, "the Irish enemies shall not be admitted to peace until they be finally destroyed or shall make restitution fully of the costs and charges of that war."

No native Irish clergyman was to be appointed to any position in the church within the English district, and no Irishman was to be received into any English religious house in Ireland.

It was forbidden to receive or entertain Irish bards, pipers,

story-tellers, or mowers, because, as the act said, these and such like often come as spies on the English.

But this new law, designed to effect so much, was found to be impracticable, and became after a little while a dead letter. It would require a great army to enable the governor to carry it out, and he had no such army. Coyne and livery continued to be exacted from the colonists by the three great earls, Kildare, Desmond, and Ormond; and the Irish and English went on intermarrying, gossiping, fostering, dressing, speaking Irish, riding horse without saddle, and quarreling on their own account, just the same as before.

The reign of Edward III. was a glorious one for England abroad, but was disastrous to the English dominion in Ireland. Great battles were fought and won for the French possessions, while Ireland, which was more important than all the French possessions put together, was neglected. At the very time of the battle of Cressy, the Irish settlement had been almost wiped out of existence: the English power did not extend beyond the Pale, which now included only four counties round Dublin; for the three great earls of Kildare, Desmond, and Ormond acted as independent princes, and made no acknowledgment of the authority of the English king. If one-half of the care and energy expended uselessly in France had been directed to Ireland, the country could have been easily pacified and compacted into one great empire with England.

Chapter XII

DECLINE OF ENGLISH RULE. 1377-1485

THE man that gave most trouble to the English during the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. was Art Mac Murrogh Kavanagh, the renowned King of Leinster. He was elected king in 1375, when he was only eighteen years of age. Soon afterward he married the daughter of Maurice Fitzgerald, fourth Earl of Kildare, whereupon the English authorities seized the lady's vast estates, inasmuch as she had violated the Statute of Kilkenny by marrying a mere Irishman. In addition to this, his black rent—eighty marks a year—was for some reason stopped, a little time after the accession of Richard II. Exasperated by these proceedings, he devastated and burned many districts in Leinster, till the Dublin council were at last forced to pay him his black rent. This rent continued to be paid to his descendants by the Irish Government till the time of Henry VIII.

Meantime Ireland had been going from bad to worse; and at last King Richard II. resolved to come hither himself with an overwhelming force, hoping thereby to overawe the whole country into submission and quietness. He made great preparations for this expedition; and on October 2, 1394, attended by many of the English nobles, he landed at Waterford with an army of 34,000 men, the largest force ever yet brought to the shores of Ireland. At first Mac Murrogh resisted without any signs of fear, but later about seventy-five of the Irish chiefs, including Mac Murrogh, came forward and made submission.

King Richard, though shallow and weak-minded, had sense enough to perceive the chief causes of the evils that afflicted Ireland. In a letter to the Duke of York, the English regent, he describes the Irish people as of three classes: Irish savages or enemies, who were outside the law; Irish rebels, *i. e.*, colonists who had once obeyed the law but were now in rebellion; and English subjects: and he says the rebels were driven to revolt by injustice and ill-usage.

But this magnificent expedition, which cost an immense sum of

money, produced no useful result whatever. It did not increase the king's revenue or the number of loyal subjects, and it did not enlarge the English territory by a single acre. As for the submission and reconciliation of the Irish chiefs, it was all pure sham. They did not look upon King Richard as their lawful sovereign, and as the promises they had made had been extorted by force, they did not consider themselves bound to keep them. After a stay of nine months the king was obliged to return to England, leaving as his deputy his cousin, young Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, who, as Richard had no children, was heir to the throne of England. Scarcely had he left sight of land when the chiefs one and all renounced their allegiance, and the fighting went on again; till at last, in a battle fought at Kells in Kilkenny in 1397, against the Leinster clans, among them a large contingent of Mac Murrogh's kern, the English suffered a great overthrow, and Mortimer was slain.

When news of this calamity reached the king, he was greatly enraged, and foolishly resolved on a second expedition to Ireland, in order, as he said, to avenge the death of his cousin, and especially to chastise Mac Murrogh. Another army was got together quite as numerous as the former one. In the middle of May, 1399, the king landed with his army at Waterford, and after a short stay there he marched to Kilkenny on his way to Dublin. But instead of continuing his march on the open level country, he turned to the right toward the Wicklow highlands to attack Mac Murrogh. This was unfortunate for the king, for the Irish were on the highlands and the way was almost impassable. The Irish attacked continually and then darted off, the English never being able to overtake them. Finally the English reached the coast and found there ships with provisions. The timely arrival of these ships saved the army from destruction. Next day they resumed the march, moving now along the coast toward Dublin, while flying parties of the Irish hung on their rear and harassed their retreat, never giving them an hour's rest.

But now Mac Murrogh sent word that he wished to come to terms, and the young Earl of Gloucester and he met. But the parley ended in nothing, for they could not agree to terms, at which King Richard was greatly disappointed and incensed, and he vowed he would never leave Ireland till he had taken Mac Murrogh alive or dead. Accordingly on his arrival in Dublin he made arrange-

ments to have Mac Murrogh hunted down. But before they could be carried out he was recalled to England by alarming news; and when he arrived there he was made prisoner, and a new king, Henry IV., was placed on the throne. By these two Irish expeditions Richard II. lost his crown.

After the king's departure Mac Murrogh's raids became so intolerable that the government agreed to compensate him for his wife's lands. There was now a short period of quietness; but he renewed the war in 1405, and two years after suffered severely in a battle with the deputy. But twice afterward he met and defeated the English. In 1417 he died. He was the most heroic and persevering defender of his country from Brian Boru to Hugh O'Neill; and he maintained his independence for nearly half a century just beside the Pale, in spite of every effort to reduce him to submission.

Little or no change in Irish affairs marked the short reign of Henry V., who ascended the throne in 1413, and who was so engrossed with France that he gave hardly any attention to Ireland. There was strife everywhere, and the native chiefs continued their fierce inroads on the Pale. The vigorous action of the lord-lieutenant, Sir John Talbot, in 1414, gave only temporary relief, for when he was gone the Irish resumed their attacks.

The accession of Henry VI. in 1422 made no improvement in the country, which continued to be everywhere torn by strife: and the people of the Pale fared neither better nor worse than those of the rest of the country. But what greatly added to their misfortunes at this time was a long and bitter feud between two of the leading Anglo-Irish families, the Butlers and the Talbots, which was carried on with such violence that it put a stop to almost all government business in the Pale, and brought ruin on thousands of the poor people. For more than twenty years this fierce dissension continued, while within the Pale all was confusion and corruption. The leading English officials forced shopkeepers and others to supply goods, but hardly ever paid their debts, while at the same time they robbed the king of his lawful revenues and enriched themselves. During this time the soldiers were under little or no restraint and did just as they pleased.

Some little relief came when Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, a distinguished man, a prince of the royal blood and heir to the throne of England, was appointed lord lieutenant. He won the affections of the Irish both of native and English descent by

treating them with fairness and consideration—a thing they had been little accustomed to. The native chiefs sent him, unasked, as many beeves as he needed for his great household: a record creditable to both sides, for it showed that he was a kind and just man, and that they could be grateful and generous when they were fairly treated. He was appointed for ten years; but he had not been in Ireland for more than one year when Jack Cade's rebellion broke out; on which he went to England in 1451 to look after his own interests, and during his absence Ireland was governed by deputies appointed by himself.

For the past century and a half the English kings had been so taken up with wars in France, Scotland, and Wales, that they had little leisure to attend to Ireland. Accordingly we have seen the Irish encroaching, the Pale growing smaller, and the people of the settlement more oppressed and more miserable year by year. But in 1454 began in England the tremendous struggle between the houses of York and Lancaster, commonly known as the Wars of the Roses, which lasted for about thirty years, and during which the colony fared still worse. The Geraldines sided with the house of York, and the Butlers with the house of Lancaster; and they went to England, with many others of the Anglo-Irish, to take part in the battles; going and returning as occasion required, and generally leaving the settlements in Ireland almost wholly unprotected during their absence. Then the Irish rose up everywhere, overran the lands of the settlers, and took back whole districts. The Pale became smaller than ever, till it included only the county Louth and about half of Dublin, Meath, and Kildare. At one time not more than 200 men could be got together to defend it.

When the Yorkists prevailed, and Edward IV. was proclaimed king (1461), the Geraldines, both of Desmond and Kildare, were in high favor, while the Butlers were in disgrace. These two factions enacted a sort of miniature of the Wars of the Roses in Ireland.

Thomas, the eighth Earl of Desmond—the Great Earl as he was called—was appointed lord deputy, in 1463, under his godson the young Duke of Clarence, the king's brother, who though appointed lord lieutenant, never came to Ireland. Desmond was well received by the Irish of both races. He loved learning as well as any of the native princes, and he showed it by founding a college in Youghal, which was richly endowed by him and by the succeed-

ing earls, and which long continued to flourish. This is a bright part of the picture; but there is a sad and dark side also, where we see how the ruin of the Great Earl was brought about. He had imprudently let fall some words disrespectful to the queen, and on some charges made by the new deputy who was sent for the purpose, he was executed, 1467.

To the people of the Pale the Irish were a constant source of terror, and when they failed to crush them in open fight they sometimes attempted to do so by act of Parliament. One of these acts, passed by the Irish Parliament in 1465, ordained that every Irishman dwelling in the Pale was to dress and shave like the English, and to take an English surname from some town as Trim, Sutton, Cork; or of a color as Black, Brown; or some calling, as Smith, Carpenter, on pain of forfeiture of his goods. Then began the custom of changing Irish surnames to English forms, which afterward became very general. Another and more mischievous measure forbade ships from fishing in the seas of Irish countries (that is, those parts of Ireland still belonging to the native chiefs) because the dues went to make the Irish people prosperous and strong. But the worst enactment of all was one providing that it was lawful to decapitate thieves found robbing "or going or coming anywhere" unless they had an Englishman in their company; and whoever did so, on bringing the head to the mayor of the nearest town, was licensed to levy a good sum off the barony. This put it in the power of any evil-minded person to kill the first Irishman he met, pretending he was a thief, and to raise money on his head. The legislators indeed had no such evil intention: for the act was merely a desperate attempt to keep down marauders who swarmed at this time everywhere through the Pale: but all the same it was a very wrong and dangerous law.

Chapter XIII

ACCESSION OF HENRY VII.; POYNINGS' LAW
1485-1494

BY the accession, in 1485, of Henry VII., who belonged to the Lancastrians, that great party finally triumphed. The Tudors, of whom he was the first, were a strong-minded and astute race of sovereigns. They paid more attention to Irish affairs than their predecessors had done; and they ultimately succeeded in recovering all that had been lost by neglect and mismanagement, and in restoring the English power in Ireland. At this time all the chief state offices in Ireland were held by the Geraldines; but as the new king felt that he could not govern the country without their aid, he made no changes, though he knew well they were all devoted Yorkists. He had a very insecure hold on his own throne, and he thought that the less he disturbed matters in Ireland the better. Accordingly the great Earl of Kildare, who had been lord deputy for several years, with a short break, was still kept on.

But the Irish retained their affection for the House of York; and when the young impostor Lambert Simnel came to Ireland and gave out that he was the Yorkist prince, Edward, Earl of Warwick, he was received with open arms, not only by the deputy, but by almost all the Anglo-Irish—nobles, clergy, and people. But the city of Waterford rejected him and remained steadfast in its loyalty; whence it got the name of *Urbs Intacta,* the "untarnished city." When an army of 2000 Germans came to support him (1487) he was actually crowned and received as king.

But this foolish business came to a sudden termination when Simnel was defeated and taken prisoner in England. Then Kildare and the others humbly sent to ask pardon of the king, who, dreading their power if they were driven to rebellion, took no severer steps than to send over Sir Richard Edgecomb to exact new oaths of allegiance, retaining Kildare as deputy. In the following year the king invited them to a banquet at Greenwich; and they must

have felt greatly crestfallen and humiliated when they saw that one of the waiters who attended them at table was none other than their idolized "prince" Lambert Simnel.

A little later on, reports of new plots in Ireland reached the king's ears, whereupon in 1492 he removed Kildare from the office of deputy. These reports were not without foundation, for now a second claimant for the crown, a young Fleming named Perkin Warbeck, landed in Cork in 1492 and announced that he was Richard, Duke of York, one of the two princes that had been kept in prison by Richard III. After the ridiculous termination of the Simnel imposture one would think it hard for another to gain a footing in Ireland; yet Warbeck was at once accepted by the citizens of Cork; but his career, which belongs to English rather than to Irish history, need not be followed here. It is enough to say that after causing considerable disturbance in Ireland, he was at length taken and hanged at Tyburn, along with John Walter, mayor of Cork, his chief supporter in that city. It was mainly the English colonists who were concerned in the episodes of Simnel and Warbeck; the native Irish took little or no interest in either claimant.

The Irish parliament was always under the control of a few great lords, who could have any acts they pleased passed in it, so that it gave them great power, and its laws were often hasty, harsh, and oppressive, and sometimes dangerous to the king's sovereignty. Henry knew all this; and the experience of Simnel and Warbeck taught him that his Anglo-Irish subjects might, at any favorable opportunity, again rise in rebellion for the House of York. He came to the resolution to lessen the power of the nobles by destroying the independence of their parliament, and having given Sir Edward Poynings instructions to this effect, he sent him over as deputy. Poynings' first proceeding was to lead an expedition to the north against O'Hanlon and Magennis, who had given shelter to some of Warbeck's supporters. But he heard a rumor that the Earl of Kildare was conspiring with these two chiefs to intercept and destroy himself and his army; and news came also that Kildare's brother had risen in open rebellion and had seized the castle of Carlow. On this, Poynings, patching up a peace with O'Hanlon and Magennis, returned south and recovered the castle.

In order to carry out the king's commands, he convened a parliament at Drogheda in November of 1494, the memorable par-

liament in which the act since known as "Poynings' Law" was passed. The provisions of this law were most important: No parliament was in future to be held in Ireland until the heads of all the acts intended to be passed in it had been sent to the king, with a full statement of the reasons why they were required, and until these acts had been approved and permission to pass them granted by the king and privy council of England. This single provision is what is popularly known as "Poynings' Law." It was the most important of all, and was indeed the only one that turned out permanent.

All the laws lately made in England, affecting the public weal, should hold good in Ireland. This referred only to English laws then existing, but we must carefully bear in mind that it gave no power to the English parliament to make laws for Ireland in the future.

The Statute of Kilkenny, which had become quite disregarded, was revived and confirmed, except the part forbidding the use of the Irish tongue, which could not be carried out, as the language was now used everywhere, even throughout the English settlements. But this attempt at revival failed as completely as the original act, for no one minded it.

For the purpose of protecting the settlement, it was made felony to permit enemies or rebels to pass through the marches; and the owners of march lands were obliged to reside on them or send proper deputies, on pain of losing their estates.

The exaction of coyne and livery was forbidden in any shape or form.

Many of the Anglo-Irish families had adopted the Irish war-cries; the use of these was now strictly forbidden.

In this parliament the Earl of Kildare was attainted for high treason, mainly on account of his supposed conspiracy with O'Hanlon to destroy the deputy; in consequence of which he was soon afterward arrested and sent a prisoner to England. The next chapter will tell all about his subsequent career.

The general purpose of Poynings' legislation was to increase the power of the king and diminish that of the nobles, who were the chief source of danger to the Crown. Up to this the Irish parliament had been independent; it was convened by the chief governor whenever and wherever he pleased, and it made its laws without any interference from the parliament of England. Now

Poynings' Law took away all these great privileges; and the Irish parliament could no longer make laws of any kind whatever without the knowledge and consent of the English king and council. This indeed was of small consequence at the time, for the parliament was only for the Pale, or rather for the few lords who summoned and controlled it, and no native Irishman could sit in it. But when at a later period English law was made to extend over the whole country, and the Irish parliament made laws for all the people of Ireland, then Poynings' Law, which still remained in force, was felt by the people to be one of their greatest grievances. Many years later the Irish parliamentary leaders succeeded after a long struggle in having it repealed.

The English rule in Ireland, which had been steadily declining since the time of John, reached its lowest ebb about the time of Poynings' Law. In obedience to one provision of this law, a double ditch or rampart was built at the time all along on the boundary of the Leinster settlement from sea to sea to keep out the Irish, of which some remains can still be traced. This little territory was called the Pale, and it remained so circumscribed for many years, but afterward became enlarged from time to time.

Chapter XIV

THE GERALDINES. 1495-1534

IN all their branches the Geraldines had become thoroughly Irish. They spoke and wrote the Irish language in their daily life, read and loved Irish books and Irish lore of every kind, kept bards, physicians, brehons, historians, and story-tellers as part of their household, and intermarried, fostered, and gossiped with the leading Irish families. They were nearly always at war, and when the Reformation came they were champions of the Catholic religion. When we add to all this that they were known to be of an ancient and noble family, which told for much in Ireland, we have a sufficient explanation of the well-known fact that the old Irish were rather more devoted to those Geraldines than to their own chiefs of pure Celtic blood.

The man of most consequence of the Leinster Geraldines at the beginning of the reign of Henry VII. was Garrett or Gerald Fitzgerald, the eighth Earl of Kildare—"The Great Earl"—who stood in near relations by intermarriage with the O'Neills, the Butlers, and others, and was a man of great ability, though somewhat odd and eccentric. He was now in the Tower awaiting trial, on suspicion of conspiring against Deputy Poynings. As Ireland had meantime become almost unmanageable, it struck King Henry VII. that perhaps the best course to follow was to govern the country through him. One of his accusers exclaimed with great vehemence, "All Ireland cannot rule this man!" The king ended the matter by replying, "Then if all Ireland cannot rule him, he shall rule all Ireland!" Thus the earl triumphed, and he was restored and made lord lieutenant, in 1496.

The king was not mistaken in his choice; the Great Earl was loyal to his trust, and turned out a faithful and successful governor. The most important event he was ever engaged in was the battle of Knockdoe, a battle resulting from a private quarrel, which lined up the North against the South, and was the most obstinate, bloody, and destructive fought in Ireland since the Invasion, with

the single exception of the battle of Athenry. The southern men were totally overthrown. It was really a battle of Irish against Irish—one of those senseless conflicts in which they merely slaughtered each other without any counterbalancing advantage. It was considered to have done so great a service to the English cause, by weakening the Irish, that the king rewarded Kildare by making him a Knight of the Garter.

The Great Earl was retained as deputy by Henry VIII. in 1509. He continued his raids, even though once utterly defeated, until he was killed in one of his assaults. He was succeeded as deputy, in 1513, by his son, Garrett Oge Fitzgerald, the ninth earl, who was quite as fond of fighting as his father had been, and was very successful in his expeditions against the Irish chiefs. His unbroken career of victory excited the jealousy of some of the other Anglo-Irish lords, especially the Butlers, till at last Pierce Roe, Earl of Ormond, managed to gain the ear of Cardinal Wolsey, who disliked the Geraldines. Through the cardinal's influence Kildare was now summoned to England to answer charges of enriching himself from the crown revenues and of holding traitorous correspondence with the Irish enemies. Soon afterward King Henry VIII., at Wolsey's suggestion, sent over Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, as lord lieutenant.

Surrey sided with Kildare's enemies, and when he became tired of his wars with the Irish chiefs returned to England, leaving Pierce Roe, Kildare's mortal enemy, as lord deputy. Kildare had meantime married a relative of the king, and in 1523 was permitted to return to Ireland. He was enraged beyond measure on finding all the damage done in his absence, and, as might have been expected, the feud now blazed up with tenfold fury, so that the king had to send over commissioners to investigate the dispute. Their decision was for Kildare, whom they appointed deputy in 1524 in place of Ormond.

But Kildare was exposed to danger from other quarters. His enemies, especially the two most powerful, Pierce Roe in Ireland, and Wolsey in England, kept wide awake, and succeeded at last so far as to have him again summoned to England in 1526, to answer several charges. But in three years he was appointed deputy once more. There was no single enemy that he feared, and he used his great power unsparingly. He removed the Archbishop of Dublin from the post of Lord Chancellor, allied the most powerful of the

Irish chiefs to himself by marriages, and burned and harried the English villages.

All these proceedings were eagerly watched and reported to the king with exaggeration by Kildare's enemies; the result of which was that for the third time he was summoned to England to give an account of his government. There is some reason to suspect that he contemplated open rebellion and resistance, for now he furnished his castles with great guns, pikes, and powder from the government stores in the castle of Dublin. At any rate he delayed obeying the order as long as he could. But in 1534 there came a peremptory mandate from the king, and the earl, with a heavy heart, set about preparing for his journey, for he seems to have had some forebodings of coming evil.

He left his son, the young Lord Thomas, as deputy in his place. Before bidding the young man farewell, he spoke in this manner to him in presence of the council: "Son Thomas, you know that my sovereign lord the king hath sent for me into England, and what shall betide me God knoweth, for I know not. But however it falleth, I am now well stept in years, and so I must soon decease, because I am old. Wherefore insomuch as my winter is well nigh ended, and the spring of your age is now budding, my will is that you behave so wisely in these your green years, as that with honor you may grow to the catching of that hoary winter in which you see your father fast faring. And whereas it pleaseth the king his majesty that upon my departure here hence I should substitute in my room such a one as I could answer for, albeit I know your years are tender and your judgment not fully rectified, and therefore I might with good cause be excused from putting a naked sword in a young man's hand; yet forasmuch as I am your father I am well contented to bear that oar-stroke with you in steering your ship, because as your father I may commend you [for steering well], and correct you as my son for the wrong handling of your helm. And now I am resolved day by day to learn rather how to die in the fear of God, than to live in the pomp of the world. Wherefore, my son, in all your affairs be ruled by this Board, that for wisdom is able to lesson you with sound and sage advice. For albeit in authority you rule them, yet in counsel they must rule you. My son, although my fatherly affection would make my discourse longer, yet I trust your good inclination permits it to be shorter. And upon that assurance, here in the presence of

this honorable assembly, I deliver you this sword of office." Thus in tears the earl spoke his last farewell, and committing his son and the members of the council to God, he set sail for England. On his arrival in London he was sent prisoner to the Tower on various charges. He might possibly have got through his present difficulties, as he had through many others, but for what befell in Ireland.

Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, who was afterward known as "Silken Thomas," from the gorgeous trappings of himself and his retinue, was then in his twenty-first year, brave, open, and generous. But the earl his father could not have made a more unfortunate choice as deputy, for there were in Dublin plotting enemies who hated all his race, and they led the young man to ruin by a base trap. They spread a report that his father had been beheaded in England, and that all his relations were going to be treated in the same way. Whereupon, with his brilliant retinue of seven score horsemen, the impetuous young lord rode through the streets to St. Mary's Abbey; and entering the chamber where the council sat, he openly renounced his allegiance, and proceeded to deliver up the sword of office and the robes of state. His friend Archbishop Cromer, lord chancellor, besought him with tears in his eyes to forego his purpose; but at that moment the voice of an Irish bard was heard from among the young nobleman's followers, praising the Silken Lord, and calling on him to avenge his father's death. Casting the sword from his hand, he rushed forth with his men to enter on that wild and hopeless struggle which ended in the ruin of himself and his family. The earl, his father, on hearing of his son's rebellion, took to his bed, and being already sick of palsy, died in a few days broken-hearted. By his death, his son Lord Thomas became the tenth Earl of Kildare.

Collecting a large force of the Irish septs in and around the Pale, Lord Thomas led them to Dublin, and laid siege to the castle. The archbishop tried to flee, but was captured and brought before Lord Thomas. He threw himself on his knees to beg for mercy, and the young lord ordered his attendants to take him away in custody and then turned aside; but they, either misunderstanding or disobeying his words, murdered the archbishop on the spot. This fearful crime brought a sentence of excommunication against Lord Thomas and his followers. Nevertheless the rebellion went on, and several powerful Irish chiefs joined his standard. But his

men were not able to take Dublin Castle, and at last the citizens, tired of their disorderly conduct, turned on them and chased them outside the walls of the city.

In March, 1535, Skeffington the deputy began his measures by laying siege to the castle of Maynooth, and after a siege of nine days, during which the castle was battered by artillery, then for the first time used on any important occasion in Ireland, he took it by storm, and massacred the garrison. But Lord Thomas' allies began to fall away, and Lord Leonard Grey, the military commander, took active measures and made short work of the rebellion. Finally Lord Thomas delivered himself up to Lord Grey, on condition that his life should be spared. He was conveyed to England in 1535 and imprisoned in the Tower. Here he was left for about eighteen months, neglected and in great misery.

At the time of his arrest his five uncles were treacherously taken by Grey, who invited them to a banquet, and had them seized and manacled on their arrival. Though it was well known that three of them had openly discountenanced the rebellion, and notwithstanding the promise made by Grey to the young lord, he and his uncles were all executed at Tyburn in 1537. Thus fell, at one cruel blow, the great and illustrious house of Kildare, for though the earldom and an heir to it remained, and the lands were ultimately restored, the family never attained its former power and magnificence. During the rebellion, though it lasted little more than a year, the County Kildare was wasted and depopulated, and the whole Pale, as well as the country round it, suffered unspeakable desolation and misery. It was a reckless enterprise, for there never was the remotest chance of success; the only excuse was the extreme youth and inexperience of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald.

There remained the two sons of the ninth earl by Lady Elizabeth Grey. Gerald (or Garrett), then about twelve years of age, was hid and secretly conveyed to a place of safety. Great efforts were now made to discover the place of young Gerald's retreat, and certain death awaited him if he should be captured. But he had friends in every part of Ireland, for the Irish, both native and of English descent, had an extraordinary love for the house of Kildare. By sending him from place to place disguised, his guardians managed to baffle the spies that were everywhere on the watch for him.

The earls of Kildare were connected, either by blood or mar-

riage, with most of the leading Irish families, both native and Anglo-Irish, who were all incensed at the execution of the six Geraldines; and the chiefs now (1537) formed a league—the First Geraldine League—which included the O'Donnells, the Desmonds, the O'Conors, the O'Briens, the MacCarthys, and many others, with the object of restoring the young nobleman to his rightful place, appointing a guard of twenty-four horsemen to wait

on him continually. This greatly alarmed the authorities, and extraordinary efforts were made to capture him, but all in vain.

At the end of two years the boy, disguised as a peasant, was sent to the Continent. There he was received with great distinction. He was, however, dogged everywhere by spies, greedy to earn the golden reward for his capture, but he succeeded in eluding them all. And he was pursued from kingdom to kingdom by the English ambassador, who in vain demanded from the several sovereigns that he should be given up. He found his way at last to Rome to his kinsman Cardinal Pole, who gave him safe asylum, and educated him as became a prince. After a career full of adventure and many narrow escapes, he was reinstated in all his possessions by Edward VI. in 1552; and in 1554 Queen Mary restored his title, and he succeeded as the eleventh Earl of Kildare.

Chapter XV

RENEWAL OF STRIFE. 1535-1560

MATTERS had come to such a pass in 1535 in Ireland that the English Government had to choose one or the other of two courses: either to give up the country altogether, or to put forth the strength they had hitherto held back and regain their authority. Henry VIII., with his strong will, determined to attempt the restoration of the English power, and, as we shall see, he succeeded.

A few years before the time we have now arrived at King Henry had begun his quarrel with Rome, the upshot of which was that he threw off all spiritual allegiance to the Pope, and made himself supreme head of the church in his own kingdom of England. He made little or no change in religion: on the contrary he maintained the chief doctrines of the Catholic Church, and resisted the progress of the Reformation. All he wanted was that he, and not the Pope, should be head.

He was now determined to be head of the church in Ireland also; and to carry out his measures, he employed the deputy Skeffington, the Earl of Ormond, and George Brown, formerly a London friar, whom the king appointed Archbishop of Dublin in place of the murdered Archbishop Allen. Brown now (1535) went to work with great energy, but he was vehemently opposed by Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, and he made no impression on the Anglo-Irish of the Pale, who showed not the least disposition to go with him. Finding all his efforts fail, a parliament was convened by his advice in Dublin, which in 1536 passed an act making the king supreme spiritual head of the church. An oath of supremacy was to be taken by all government officers, *i. e.*, an oath that the king was spiritual head of the church, and anyone who was bound to take it and refused was adjudged guilty of treason. Appeals to the Pope in matters connected with the church were forbidden; the king would henceforth settle all these. The monas-

teries all through Ireland, except a few in some remote districts, were suppressed, and their property was either kept for the king or given to laymen. About four hundred altogether were broken up, and the great body of the inmates were turned out on the world without any provision. The deputy, Lord Grey, now entered vigorously on the task of restoring quietness, and so weakened the Geraldine League that it never came to anything.

Hitherto the English kings, from the time of John, had borne the title of "Lord of Ireland"; it was now resolved to confer on Henry the title of "King of Ireland." With this object a parliament was assembled in Dublin on June 12, 1541, and in order to lend greater importance to its decisions, a number of the leading Irish chiefs were induced to attend. This parliament accordingly is remarkable as being the first ever attended by native chiefs. Among them were also many Anglo-Irish chiefs who had seldom or never before been in parliament. For the king had instructed his deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, to treat with them all in a kindly and generous spirit, and as they were by this time heartily weary of strife, they showed a general disposition to meet the king's offers of reconciliation and peace. The act conferring the title of King of Ireland on Henry and his successors was passed through both houses rapidly, and without opposition. The Irish, and many of the Anglo-Irish lords, did not understand one word of English, and they were much pleased when the earl of Ormond translated into Irish for them the speeches of the lord chancellor and the speaker. There was general rejoicing, and titles were conferred on many of the chiefs. Conn O'Neill was made Earl of Tyrone, and his (reputed) son Matthew was made Baron of Dungannon, with the right to succeed as Earl of Tyrone. O'Brien was made Earl of Thomond; Mac William Burke was created Earl of Clanrickard, and many other chiefs all over the country had minor titles.

Putting out of sight the question of supremacy and the suppression of the Irish monasteries, Henry's treatment of Ireland was on the whole considerate and conciliatory, though with an occasional outburst of cruelty. He persistently refused to expel or exterminate the native Irish people to make room for new colonies, though often urged to do so by his mischievous Irish officials. The result was that the end of his reign found the chiefs submissive and contented, the country at peace, and the English power in Ireland stronger than ever it had been before. Had a similar line of con-

duct been followed in the succeeding reigns, some of the tragic events that came later might never have occurred.

If there had been no influences from the outside to stir up discord after the time of Henry VIII., it is pretty certain that the Irish people of all classes, with their own parliament, would have settled down in peace, prosperity, and contentment under the rule of the kings of England, and there now appeared every prospect that this state of things would come to pass. But there were causes of strife in store for Ireland that no one at the time ever dreamed of; so that the condition of the country, instead of improving, became gradually much worse than ever it had been, even during the evil times we have been treating of. Before resuming our regular narrative it will be better to state the circumstances that brought about this state of things.

After the death of Henry VIII. the government in course of time entered on the task of forcing the Irish people to become Protestant, and they also began to plant the country with colonies from England and Scotland, for whom the native inhabitants were to be expelled. These two projects were either directly or indirectly the causes of nearly all the dreadful wars that desolated this unhappy country during the next century and a half, for the Irish people resisted both. One project—the Plantations—partially succeeded; the other—the religious one—failed.

But there were other circumstances that tended to bring on disturbance, though of less importance than the two above-mentioned. It will be recollected that an Irish chief had a tract of land for life, which, after his death went, by the Law of Tanistry, to his successor. But now when a chief who had got an English title from the king died, his eldest son or his next heir succeeded to title and land, according to English law, but according to the Irish custom, he whom the tribe elected succeeded to the chiefship and to the mensal land. Thus when this titled chief died, English and Irish law were, in a double sense, opposed to each other, and there was generally a contest, both for the headship and for the land, in which the government supported the heir, and the tribe the new chief elected by them. This was the origin of many very serious disturbances.

Another fruitful source of bitter heartburnings was the continual and most unwise harshness of the government, by which they turned both natives and colonists against them. To such an

extent was this carried—so odious did the authorities make themselves—without the least necessity, that any invader, no matter from what quarter, would have been welcomed and aided, by both native Irish and Anglo-Irish.

A disquieting agency less serious than any of the preceding, but still a decided cause of disturbance, was the settled policy of the Tudors to anglicize the Irish people; to make them, as it were, English in everything. To accomplish this the government employed all the means at their disposal, although with little success. Acts of Parliament were passed commanding the natives to drop their Irish language and learn English—a thing impossible for a whole people—to take English names instead of their own, and to ride (with saddle), dress, and live after the English fashion. The legislators undertook to regulate how the hair was to be worn and how the beard was to be clipped; and for women, the color of their dresses, the number of yards of material they were to use, the sort of hats they were to wear, and many other such like silly provisions. These laws, as might be expected, were hardly ever obeyed, so that they generally came to nothing, for the people went on speaking Irish, shaving, riding without saddle, and dressing just the same as before. But like all such laws, they were very exasperating, for they put it in the power of any ill-conditioned person to insult and harass his Irish neighbors, and they were among the causes that rendered the English Government of that time so hated in Ireland.

The death of Henry VIII. removed all check to the Reformation, which was now pushed forward vigorously in England. In 1551, the fifth year of Edward's reign, the chief Protestant doctrines and forms of worship were proclaimed in Ireland by Sir Anthony St. Leger, while George Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, exerted himself to spread the Reformation, but they could only reach the few people in the service of the government, and the Reformation made no progress. The work was carried on, however, without violence, and there was on the whole little disturbance in Ireland on the score of religion during Edward's short reign.

Queen Mary, who succeeded Edward VI. in 1553, restored the Catholic religion in England and Ireland; and Ireland, during her reign, was quite free from religious persecution. The Catholics were now the masters, but they showed little disposition to molest the few Protestants that lived among them, allowing them full

liberty to worship in their own way. Ireland indeed was regarded as such a haven of safety, that many Protestant families fled hither during the troubles of Mary's reign in England.

On the death of Mary in 1558 Elizabeth became queen. Henry VIII. had transferred the headship of the church from the Pope to himself; Edward VI. had changed the state religion from Catholic to Protestant; Mary from Protestant to Catholic, and now there was to be a fourth change, followed by results far more serious and lasting than any previously experienced. A parliament was assembled in Dublin in 1560, to restore the Protestant religion, and in a few weeks the whole system introduced by Mary was reversed. The Act of Supremacy was revived, and all officials and clergymen were to take the oath or be dismissed. The Act of Uniformity was also reintroduced. This was an act commanding all people to use the Book of Common Prayer (the Protestant Prayer Book), and to attend the Protestant service on Sunday under pain of censure and a fine of twelve pence for each absence—about three dollars of our money.

Wherever these new regulations were enforced, the Catholic clergy had of course to abandon their churches, for they could not hold them without taking the oath. But they went among the people and took care of religion just the same as before. In some places the new Act of Uniformity was now brought sharply into play, and fines were inflicted on those who absented themselves from church, but this compulsion prevailed only in the Pale and in some few other places. In far the greatest part of Ireland the government had no influence, and the Catholics were not interfered with. Even within the Pale the great body of the people took no notice of proclamations, the law could not be enforced, the Act of Uniformity was very much a dead letter, and the greater number of the parishes remained in the hands of the priests. From the time of Elizabeth till the disestablishment of the church in 1869, Protestantism remained the religion of the state in Ireland.

Chapter XVI

TWO REBELLIONS. 1551-1583

DURING the century following the death of King Henry VIII. there were four great rebellions which almost depopulated the country: the Rebellion of Shane O'Neill, the Geraldine Rebellion, the Rebellion of Hugh O'Neill, and the Rebellion of 1641—after which came the War of the Revolution. In the following chapters these will be all related in the proper order.

The first arose over the question as to which of Conn O'Neill's sons should succeed to the Earldom of Tyrone. The father first acknowledged Matthew, but later took Shane's part, whereupon the earl was captured by the English, and kept at Dublin. Shane was instantly up in arms to avenge his father's capture, and to maintain what he believed was his right against Matthew and the government, and so commenced a quarrel that cost England more men and money than any single struggle they had yet entered upon in Ireland.

The deputy, Sir James Croft, made three several attempts during 1551 and 1552 to reduce him to submission, and failed in all. These hostilities went on till a great part of Ulster was wasted, but still O'Neill showed not the least disposition to yield. At last they thought it as well to let him alone, and for the next five or six years no serious attempt was made to reduce him.

In the year of Queen Elizabeth's accession Matthew was assassinated. When the earl died in 1559, Matthew's son, according to English law, should have succeeded, but Shane was elected "The O'Neill" in accordance with ancient Irish custom. The government took more or less direct action against him, but Shane made himself master of all Ulster. When assassination failed the queen adopted a pacific method; she invited him to London, and received him very graciously. The redoubtable chief and his retainers, all in their strange native attire, were viewed with curiosity and wonder. He strode through the court to the royal

presence, as Camden tells us, between two lines of wondering courtiers; and behind him marched his galloglasses, their heads bare, their long hair curling down on their shoulders and clipped short in front just above the eyes. They wore a loose wide-sleeved saffron-dyed tunic, and over this a short shaggy mantle flung across the shoulders. On January 6, 1562, he made formal submission to the queen, in presence of the court and the foreign ambassadors.

The London authorities did not deal fairly with O'Neill, and took advantage of circumstances to impose severe conditions on him. Shane was crafty, and so managed matters that he was permitted to return to Ulster, with a pardon, and all expenses paid. He had no intention of holding to the conditions, however, and renewed the war, and at last the queen, heartily sick of the quarrel, instructed Sussex to end it by reasonable concessions, and peace was signed in November, 1563, on terms much to his advantage. Among other things, it was agreed to confirm him in the old Irish name of "The O'Neill," "until the queen should decorate him by another honorable name": meaning, no doubt, to make him an earl. After this, things were quiet for some time.

There were at this time in Antrim great numbers of Scottish settlers from the western coasts and islands of Scotland, and to these Shane now turned his attention. The victory he gained over them at first caused great joy to the English, but seeing how much it increased his power, their joy soon turned to jealousy and fear; and they sent two commissioners to have an interview with him; to whom he gave very little satisfaction. Finally in an action, consequent to a plundering raid, he was utterly routed.

He lost all heart, and now formed the insane resolution of placing himself at the mercy of the Scots, whose undying enmity he had earned by a defeat at Glenshesk two years before. He came to their camp at Cushendun with only fifty followers, trusting to their generosity, but was massacred with all his followers.

O'Neill's rebellion cost the government a sum nearly equal to two millions of our present money, besides the cesses laid on the country and the damages sustained by the subjects. At the time of his death he was only about forty years of age. We are told by several English historians of the time that he governed his principality with great strictness and justice.

Perhaps at no time since the invasion did the dissensions of the great Anglo-Irish lords bring more misery to the general body

of the people than at the present period. The Fitzgeralds and the Butlers were perpetually at war, with no authority to quell them. The Earl of Desmond, head of the southern Geraldines, was a Catholic, and took the Irish side; the Earl of Ormond, leader of the Butlers, had conformed to the Protestant faith, and had taken the side of the English all along. By the tyranny and oppression of these two earls, as well as by their never-ending disputes, large districts in the south were devastated, and almost depopulated. At the same time Connaught was in a state almost as bad, by the broils of the Earl of Clanrickard and his sons with each other, and with the chiefs all round.

At last the deputy, Sir Henry Sydney, set out on a journey through Connaught and Munster to make peace; and having witnessed the miseries of the country, he treated those he considered delinquents with excessive and merciless severity, hanging and imprisoning great numbers. The farther south he went the worse he found the country. Speaking of the districts of Desmond and Thomond, he states that whole tracts, once cultivated, lay waste and uninhabited; the ruins of burned towns, villages, and churches everywhere: "And there heard I the lamentable cries and doleful complaints made by that remnant of poor people which are yet left, hardly escaping sword and fire, or the famine. . . . Yea, the view of the bones and skulls of dead subjects, who partly by murder, partly by famine, have died in the fields, as in truth hardly any Christian with dry eyes could behold."

Sydney had arrested the Earl of Desmond and left his brother John to continue to govern South Munster. John was well affected toward the government, but in 1567, at Ormond's instigation, he was seized without any cause, and he and the earl were sent to London and consigned to the Tower, where they were detained for six years. All this was done without the knowledge of Sydney, who afterward quite disapproved of it; and it made great mischief, for it was one of the causes of the rebellion, and it changed John Fitzgerald from a loyal man to a bitter rebel.

The rumors of English colonization and of attempts to force the adoption of Reformation doctrines stirred up matters until they were brought to a crisis by the arrest of the Earl of Desmond and John Fitzgerald. James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, the earl's first cousin, now went among the southern chiefs, and induced them all, both native Irish and Anglo-Irish, to unite in defense of their

religion and their lands, and thus was formed the Second Geraldine League. For six years Sydney prevented the rebellion, and Fitzmaurice fled to France. But in 1579 he returned with three ships, which he had procured in Spain, accompanied by about eighty Spaniards.

An uncalled-for horrible murder of two high English authorities by John Fitzgerald, the defeat of the invading force, and the adherence of the Earl of Desmond to the rebels, were the opening features of the rebellion. The frightful civil war broke out now more ruthlessly than before, and brought the country to such a state as had never yet been witnessed. At Christmas, Desmond utterly ruined the rich and prosperous town of Youghal, which belonged to the party of his opponents; the government commanders, Pelham and Ormond, carried fire and sword through the country; and Pelham himself tells us that every day, in their marches, they hunted the peasantry fleeing with their families through the woods, and killed them by hundreds. For the rebels it was a losing game all through.

While Pelham and Ormond still continued to traverse Munster, burning, destroying, and slaying, from Limerick to the remote extremities of the Kerry peninsulas, the insurrection suddenly blazed up in Leinster. About two years before this, Sir Henry Sydney, the lord deputy, had excited great discontent and violent commotion among the loyalist people of the Pale by imposing on them an oppressive tax without consulting the Irish parliament, a proceeding which was quite illegal; and partly for this reason, and partly on account of the measures taken by the government to force the Reformation, one of the principal men and his people rose up in open rebellion. Lord Grey of Wilton was appointed lord justice, but he was a bad general, and his army was almost annihilated in his first battle.

The insurgents had long expected aid from the Continent, and a small force at length arrived; 700 Spaniards and Italians landed about the first of October, 1580, from four vessels at Smerwick in Kerry. After about six weeks spent in collecting forces, Lord Grey, burning with rage after his defeat, laid siege to the fort, and battered it with cannon till the garrison was forced to surrender. The Irish authorities assert that they had promise of their lives; the English say they surrendered at discretion. At any rate, as soon as they had delivered up their arms, Grey had the whole

garrison put to death. Grey now had a hard road to travel, and the relentless barbarity of the struggle being neither to his taste nor the queen's, his recall in 1582 was satisfactory to both.

Things had come to a hopeless pass with the rebels. And now the great Earl of Desmond, the master of almost an entire province, the inheritor of vast estates, and the owner of numerous castles, was become a homeless outlaw with a price on his head, dogged by spies everywhere, and hunted from one hiding place to another. Through all his weary wanderings he was accompanied by his faithful wife. At length, in 1583, he was taken and killed by some soldiers and peasants in Kerry, which ended the great Geraldine rebellion.

The war had made Munster a desert. In the words of the Four Masters: "The lowing of a cow or the voice of a plowman could scarcely be heard from Dunqueen in the west of Kerry to Cashel." To what a frightful pass the wretched people had been brought may be gathered from Edmund Spencer's description of what he witnessed with his own eyes: "Notwithstanding that the same [province of Munster] was a most rich and plentiful countrey, full of corne and cattle, yet ere one yeare and a halfe the people were brought to such wretchedness as that any stony hart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynnes they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not beare them, and if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks there they flocked as to a feast for the time: that in short space of time there were almost no people left, and a most populous and plentifull country suddainely left voide of man and beast."

Before proceeding further with our regular narrative, it is necessary that we here turn back a little in point of time, in order to trace the history of the Plantations, and to describe what they were and how they were carried out. In the time of Queen Mary an entire change was made in the mode of dealing with Irish territories whose chiefs had been subdued. Hitherto whenever the government deposed or banished a troublesome Irish chief they contented themselves with putting in his place another, commonly English or Anglo-Irish, more likely to be submissive, while the general body of occupiers remained undisturbed. But now when a rebellious chief was reduced, the lands, not merely those in his own possession, but also those belonging to the whole of the people over whom he ruled, were confiscated, that is, seized by the Crown,

and given to English adventurers—undertakers, as they were commonly called. These men got the lands on condition that they should bring over and plant on them a number of English or Scotch settlers, for whom it was of course necessary to clear off the native population. What became of the doomed people no one cared. Some went away quietly and faced hardship and want. But others refused to give up their homes, and then there was fighting and bloodshed.

Our first example of this kind of colonization occurred in Leix and Offaly in 1547. These two districts were, in the first instance, not exactly taken possession of by the Crown, but given directly to an Englishman named Francis Bryan and to some others, who proceeded straightway to expel the native people and parcel out the lands to new tenants, chiefly English. But the poor people clung to their homes and struggled hard to retain them. The fighting went on during the whole of the reign of Edward VI. with great loss of life to both sides; and the settlement, exposed to the constant vengeful attacks of those who had been dispossessed, decayed year by year.

As this attempt at plantation did not succeed, the whole district was taken possession of by the Crown in the reign of Queen Mary, and replanted. The natives still resisted, but they had now the full strength of the government forces to contend with, and a pitiless war of extermination went on for many years, till the original owners and peasantry were as a body almost completely banished or extirpated. But this settlement never succeeded, and the natives gradually crept back till in course of time they in great measure absorbed the settlers, as happened in older times.

After the death of Shane O'Neill, in 1567, more than half of Ulster was confiscated, and the attempt to clear off the old natives and plant new settlers was commenced without delay. An attempt in 1570-1573 was a failure, but the next undertaker was a more important man, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex. In 1573 he undertook to plant the district now occupied by the county Antrim, together with the island of Rathlin. He waged savage war on the natives, killing, burning, and depopulating. He hunted down and massacred without distinction men, women, and children, to gain possession of their lands. Yet after all this fearful work he failed in the end, and returned to Dublin, where he died.

On the suppression of the Geraldine Rebellion the vast estates

of the Earl of Desmond, and those of 140 of the leading gentlemen of Munster, his adherents, were confiscated by a parliament held in Dublin in 1585. In the following year proclamation was made all through England, inviting gentlemen to "undertake" the plantation of this great and rich territory. Estates were offered at two pence or three pence an acre, and no rent at all was to be paid for the first five years. Every undertaker who took 12,000 acres was to settle eighty-six English families as tenants on his property, but no Irish, and so in proportion for smaller estates down to 4000 acres.

Many of the great undertakers were absentees—English noblemen who never saw Ireland. Of those who came over to settle down on their estates two are well known. Sir Walter Raleigh got 42,000 acres in Cork and Waterford, and resided in Youghal, where his house is still to be seen. Edmund Spenser, the poet, received 12,000 acres in Cork, and took up his residence in one of Desmond's strongholds, Kilcolman Castle, the ruin of which, near Buttevant, is still an object of interest to visitors.

In the most important particulars, however, this great scheme turned out a failure. The English farmers and artisans did not come over in sufficient numbers, and the undertakers received the native Irish everywhere as tenants, in violation of the conditions. Some English came over indeed, but they were so harrassed and frightened by the continual onslaughts of the dispossessed proprietors and tenants that many of them returned to England. And lastly, more than half the confiscated estates remained in possession of the original owners, as no others could be found to take them. So the only result of this plantation was to root out a large proportion of the old gentry and to enrich a few undertakers.

There were many other Plantations during these times and subsequently, some of which will be described farther on; but all of them resembled, in their main features, those sketched here. From beginning to end they were the cause of frightful bloodshed and misery to both natives and settlers, and they left to posterity a disastrous legacy of hatred and strife.

Chapter XVII

THE REBELLION OF HUGH O'NEILL. 1584-1597

JOHN PERROTT, a brave, bluff old soldier, was lord deputy from 1584 to 1588. He treated the Irish with some consideration. At the time of the Armada he secured hostages from most of the Irish chiefs, but none from the O'Donnells, whom he feared most of all. Young Hugh O'Donnell, even at fifteen, was remarked for his great abilities and for his aspiring and ambitious disposition. "The fame and renown of the above-named youth, Hugh Roe," say the Four Masters, "had spread throughout the five provinces of Ireland even before he had come to the age of manhood, for his wisdom, sagacity, goodly growth, and noble deeds; and the English feared that if he should be permitted to arrive at the age of manhood, he and the Earl of Tyrone [Hugh O'Neill his brother-in-law] might combine and conquer the whole island."

By a cleverly constructed and well executed trick Perrott seized young Hugh and brought him to Dublin. This dishonorable and unwise transaction, however, so far from tending to peace, as Perrott no doubt intended, did the very reverse. It made bitter enemies of the O'Donnells, who had been hitherto for generations on the side of the government. In young O'Donnell himself more especially it engendered lifelong feelings of exasperation and hatred, and it was one of the causes of the O'Neill rebellion, which brought unmeasured woe and disaster to both English and Irish.

Three years and three months passed away; Perrott had been recalled, and Sir William Fitzwilliam was now lord deputy, when O'Donnell, in concert with some of his fellow-prisoners, made an attempt to escape. They had a day's start, but O'Donnell's strength gave out, and the next day the guards from the Castle tracked him and he was recaptured. At the end of the next year O'Donnell and the two sons of Shane O'Neill made their escape, but it was extremely bad weather, and Henry O'Neill was lost, and Art O'Neill died as a result of the exposure. O'Donnell passed from place to place despite the vigilance of the guards until he arrived at his

father's castle at Ballyshannon, where he was welcomed with unbounded joy. Here he remained under cure for two months. The physicians had at last to amputate his two great toes, and a whole year passed away before he had fully recovered from the effects of that one terrible winter night in the mountains.

In May this year, 1592, a general meeting of the Kinel-Connell was convened, and Sir Hugh O'Donnell, who was old and feeble, having resigned the chieftainship, young Hugh Roe—now in his twentieth year—was elected The O'Donnell, chief of his race.

Among those who had aided O'Donnell was Hugh O'Neill, son of the Matthew whom the English had favored against Shane, and grandson of Conn, the first Earl of Tyrone. His aid had been given in secret, for he was still in the service of the English, and for some years yet was well treated by them and well disposed toward them.

Suspicion gradually arose on both sides; the opposition to The O'Neill's marriage, the warlike preparations, and the uncertainty as to which side the earl had favored at a battle at Enniskillern, brought them forth. The friendly relations between the earl and the government may be said to have ended with the close of the year 1594. Up to this it does not appear that he had any intention of rebelling; for though maintaining his rights, he endeavored to avoid displeasing the authorities. But he was continually harassed by the untiring enmity of Marshal Bagenal, who intercepted many of his letters of submission and explanation to the deputy, and this and his determination to regain all the ancestral power of his family in Ulster gradually drew him into rebellion.

The signal for the outbreak was the sending of 3000 troops as reinforcements to the English, in 1595. O'Neill seized several places and won a pitched battle. There were next many negotiations and conferences, in which O'Neill always insisted, among other conditions, that the Catholics should have full liberty to practice their religion, but this was persistently refused, and the war still went on. Nevertheless the queen was anxious for peace, and she was greatly exasperated when she heard of the cruelties of Sir Richard Bingham, president of Connaught, who had driven nearly all the chiefs of that province into rebellion. She removed him in January, 1597, and sent in his place Sir Conyers Clifford, a just and humane man.

A few months afterward Thomas, Lord Borough was appointed

lord deputy, and made preparation for a combined attack on Ulster with three different forces. The Irish were successful against all three parties. O'Neill defeated the deputy; O'Donnell drove back Clifford, and the third party was exterminated.

Portmore had been the chief objective of the fighting. It was the first place seized by O'Neill, its recapture attempted by Norris, and finally effected by the deputy, though he himself was defeated. It was now occupied by Captain Williams and his garrison of three hundred. O'Neill tried every strategem to recapture it; but the vigilance and determination of Williams completely baffled him. Failing in an attempt to storm, he laid siege, and the garrison began to be sorely pressed by hunger.

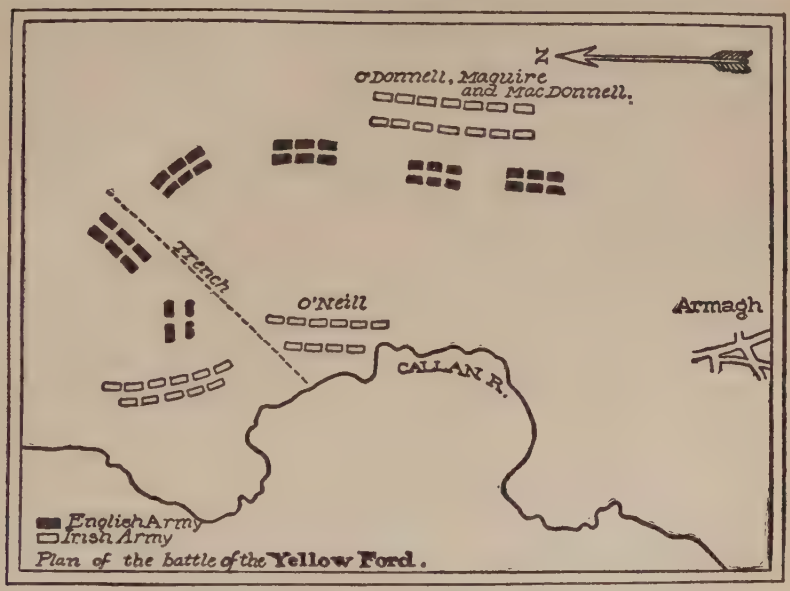
When the tidings of these events reached Dublin, the council sat in long and anxious deliberation, and at first decided to order Williams to surrender, but Marshal Bagenal arriving at this moment, persuaded them to intrust him with the perilous task of relieving the fort. O'Neill had marshaled his forces near the Yellow Ford, on the little river Callan, and determined to dispute the passage. He had with him Hugh Roe O'Donnell, Maguire, and Mac Donnell of the Glens of Antrim, all leaders of ability and experience. At intervals along the way he had dug deep holes and trenches, and had otherwise encumbered the line of march with felled trees and brushwood; and right in front of his main body extended a very difficult trench.

Bagenal was not a man easily daunted, and on the morning of August 14, 1598, he began his march with music and drum. The army advanced in six regiments, forming three divisions. O'Neill had sent 500 men forward the night before, who harassed the English before they reached the trench. The first regiment got across, but the others were too far separated, and the men of the vanguard were almost all killed before the second regiment could come up. At the head of this regiment was the Marshal Bagenal, who was shot and killed. The third regiment was now overwhelmed, and a force of the Irish which attacked the rear sent the last two regiments in disorder back to Armagh. An explosion of gunpowder in the fourth regiment put everything in confusion, whereupon O'Neill made a charge, and the rout was complete.

The Irish pursued them—as the Four Masters express it—"by pairs, threes, scores, and thirties." Two thousand of the English were killed, together with their general and nearly all the

officers, and the victors became masters of the artillery, ammunition, and stores of the royal army. On the Irish side the loss is variously estimated from 200 to 700. This was the greatest overthrow the English ever suffered since they had first set foot in Ireland.

A large body of fugitives shut themselves up in Armagh, where they were closely invested by the Irish. But Montague, with a company of horse, most courageously forced his way out and brought the evil tidings to Dublin. In a few days the garrisons



of Armagh and Portmore capitulated—the valiant Captain Williams yielding only after a most pressing message from Armagh—and were permitted to retire to Dundalk, leaving colors, drums, and ammunition behind.

When the southern chiefs heard of O'Neill's great victory, the Munster rebellion broke out like lightning. The confederates, including the Geraldines, attacked the settlements to regain the lands that had been taken from them a dozen years before; they expelled the settlers, and before long they had recovered all Desmond's castles. The lord lieutenant and Sir Thomas Norris, president of Munster, were quite unable to cope with the rebellion, and left Munster to the rebels.

The queen was greatly exasperated when news reached her of the battle of the Yellow Ford; and she wrote to the Dublin Council, censuring them bitterly, and expressing her belief that this catastrophe, and many others, were owing to their incapacity and mismanagement. At this grave juncture she appointed, as lord lieutenant, Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, son of Essex of the Plantations. He brought an army of 20,000 men, and the queen invested him with almost as much power as if she had made him king of Ireland, giving him at the same time distinct instructions to direct all his strength against the Earl of Tyrone and the other rebels of Ulster, and to plant garrisons at Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon. Though he was a brave and distinguished soldier, he did not understand how to carry on war in Ireland, and mismanaged the whole campaign. He delayed proceeding against Tyrone, and he neglected altogether the order for planting garrisons. He scattered his army, made a disastrous march to the south, and failed in the west.

Essex's fine army melted away in a few months, and at his own request he now got 2000 more from the queen, who, however, was very indignant against him, and wrote him a bitter letter commanding him to proceed at once against O'Neill. In August, 1599, he set out at last for the north, with only 2500 men, but he found the insurgent earl so strongly intrenched in his camp on a high bank over the little river Lagan, about halfway between Carrickmacross and Ardee, that he did not dare to attack him. O'Neill now requested a conference, which was granted. Early on a morning in September, the two leaders rode down unattended, from the heights on either side of the river. O'Neill saluted the earl with great respect, and spurring his horse into the stream, to be near enough to hold converse, he remained there up to his saddle-girths during the whole conference, while he laid down the conditions he demanded. A truce was agreed on, but nothing ever came of this conference, for, immediately afterward, Essex suddenly sailed for England. The remainder of his short career, ending on the block, belongs to the history of England.

For some time after the departure of Essex there were negotiations for peace, but they were all rendered fruitless by the refusal of the queen and government on the one vital point of freedom of religious worship, which O'Neill always insisted on. He visited Munster in January, 1600, and encamped with his army at Inish-

1600

carra on the Lee, six miles above Cork, where most of the Southern chiefs visited him and acknowledged him as their leader.

For the last two years victory and success had attended the Irish almost without interruption, and Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, had now attained the very summit of his power. But after this the tide began to turn, and soon came the day of defeat and disaster.

Chapter XVIII

THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS AND DEATH OF O'NEILL, 1600-1608

CHARLES BLOUNT, Lord Mountjoy, a man of great ability, and a more formidable adversary than any yet encountered by O'Neill, was the person chosen by the queen to succeed Essex as governor. He came to Ireland in February of 1600, and as soon as O'Neill heard of his arrival he returned to Ulster. Along with Mountjoy came Sir George Carew as president of Munster, a man quite as able and courageous, but crafty and avaricious, and with an intense hatred for the Irish.

Carew directed all his energies against the Munster rebels, capturing their castles one after another, and he caused his soldiers to destroy the crops wherever he went in order to produce a famine. The famine ultimately came, and the people—men, women, and children—perished by thousands of starvation.

While these events were taking place in the south, O'Neill and O'Donnell were kept busy in the north. It had long been the intention of the government to plant garrisons on the shores of Lough Foyle, and we have seen how Essex had neglected the queen's command to do so. Now a powerful armament of 4000 foot and 200 horse, under the command of Sir Henry Docwra, with abundance of stores and building materials, sailed for Lough Foyle in May; and while O'Neill's attention was drawn elsewhere, several forts were built.

Leinster had shared in the O'Neill rebellion, and Owney O'Moore, the chief of Leix, had succeeded in winning back most of his principality. The country had quite recovered from the wars of the Plantations, nearly half a century before; the land was well cultivated and the people were prosperous and contented. Moryson, the historian, Mountjoy's secretary, tells us that the ground was well tilled, the fields fenced in an orderly manner, the towns well inhabited, the highways in good repair: "The reason whereof," he says, "was that the queen's forces during these wars never till then came among them." But now all this was to be

changed. To punish them for their part in the rebellion Mountjoy set out in August, 1600, from Dublin, with a large force, and a supply of sickles, scythes, and harrows to tear up the corn; and he soon destroyed the crops of the whole district, after which he returned to Dublin, leaving the people to despair and hunger, their smiling district turned to a black ruin. Soon after this he marched north and employed himself in the same manner till he had destroyed the people's means of subsistence over a large part of Ulster. By the middle of 1601 the rebellion may be said to have been crushed in the three southern provinces. In Ulster, though O'Neill and O'Donnell were still actively engaged in defensive warfare, they had become greatly circumscribed. But the war was now fated to be renewed in another quarter of the island.

The aid which the Irish chiefs had long expected from Spain came at last. On September 23, 1601, a Spanish fleet entered the harbor of Kinsale with 3400 troops under the command of Don Juan del Aguila. They immediately took possession of the town: and Del Aguila dispatched a message to Ulster to O'Neill and O'Donnell to come south without delay. An express messenger from Cork brought the news to Mountjoy and Carew, who at once began to muster their forces, and at the end of three weeks they encamped on the north side of Kinsale with an army of 12,000 men.

On the receipt of Del Aguila's message, the northern chiefs, though urgently needed in their own province, made a hasty preparation to march south. O'Donnell was first. The English attempted to intercept him, and as he did not wish to weaken his force by fighting, he tried to evade them. Luckily there came a sudden and intense frost on the night of November 22, which hardened up bog and morass and made them passable. The Irish general, instantly taking advantage of this, set out that night westward, crossed the Slieve Felim Mountains with his hardy Tirconnell men, and reached Croom the next night after a march of forty English miles—"the greatest march with [incumbrance of] carriage," says Carew, "that hath been heard of."

During the month of November the English had carried on the siege vigorously, but after O'Donnell's arrival things began to go against them, for they were hemmed in by the town on one side, and by the Irish army on the other, so that they were now themselves besieged. They were threatened with famine, for hardly

any food could be procured for either men or horses, and the weather was so inclement that they lost numbers of their men every day by cold and sickness.

O'Neill arrived on December 21 with an army of about 4000. He saw at once how matters stood, and his counsel was, not to attack the English, but to let their army melt away, for already 6000 of them had perished; but he was overruled in a council of war, and a combined attack of Irish and Spaniards was arranged for the night of January 3, 1602. Meantime an Irish traitor, Brian Mac Mahon, sent secret information of the intended attack to the English.

The night was unusually dark, wet, and stormy; the guides lost their way, and Mountjoy took advantage of the mistakes of the Irish. These and the failure of Del Aguila to join in the attack helped lose the battle of Kinsale to the Irish. A short time after the battle Del Aguila surrendered the town; quite needlessly, for he could have held it till further help came, both from O'Neill and from the King of Spain; and having agreed also to give up the castles of Baltimore, Castlehaven, and Dunboy, which were garrisoned by Spaniards, he returned to Spain. He was justly blamed by King Philip III. of Spain, and on his arrival he was placed under arrest, which so affected him that he died of grief.

On the night after the fatal day of Kinsale, the Irish chiefs retired with their broken army to Innishannon. Here they held a sad council, in which it was resolved to send O'Donnell to Spain for further help. He went and was cordially received, but died there, September 10, 1602, his bodily ailment intensified by the news of Ireland's losses.

The Irish chiefs were incensed at Del Aquila's easy surrender. Kinsale was gone, but they resolved to hold the castles. In February a purely Irish force of 143 men was thrown into Dunboy and preparation made for a siege. Carew set out on his march from Cork with 3000 men to lay siege to the castle, sending round his ships with ordnance and stores. The devoted little garrison never flinched at sight of the powerful armament of 4000 men, and only exerted themselves all the more resolutely to strengthen their position.

And now the siege was begun and carried on with great vigor, and day after day the ordnance thundered against the walls. On June 17 the castle was so shattered that Mac Geoghegan

sent to Carew offering to surrender, on condition of being allowed to march out with arms, but Carew's only answer was to hang the messenger and to give orders for a final assault. The storming party were resisted with desperation, and many were killed on both sides. The defenders were driven in a hand-to-hand conflict to the eastern wing, where they met a party which had made its way in by a back passage. A desperate rush for the sea by forty defenders resulted in their being cut down. By night the Irish, now only seventy-seven, retired to the cellars, and the besiegers withdrew until the next day.

The next morning the cannon battered the cellars into ruins until a surrender was forced. Mac Geoghegan, who was himself dying, attempted to blow up the castle, but was caught and killed.

It is chiefly from Carew himself that this account of the siege is taken, and he concludes by saying that of the 43 defenders of Dunboy "no one man escaped but were either slaine, executed, or buried in the ruins; and so obstinate and resolved a defence had not been seene within this kingdom." The powder that was in the vaults was heaped together and ignited; and all that remained of Dunboy was blown into fragments, except two parallel side walls which are still standing.

After the capture of Dunboy, Donall O'Sullivan, the lord of Beare and Bantry, was left without possessions. He still, however, kept up the struggle resolutely until toward the end of the year 1602, when ill news came from Spain—that O'Donnell was dead, and that King Philip, on hearing of the fall of Dunboy, had countermanded the intended expedition. Finding that he could no longer maintain himself and his followers where he was, he resolved to bid farewell to the land of his inheritance and seek a refuge in Ulster. On the last day of the year 1602 he set out from Glengarriff on his memorable retreat, with 400 fighting men, and 600 women, children, and servants. The march was one unbroken scene of conflict and hardship. They were everywhere confronted or pursued by enemies, who attacked them when they dared, and they suffered continually from fatigue, cold, and hunger. "O'Sullivan was not a day or night during this period," say the Four Masters, "without a battle, or being vehemently or vindictively pursued, all which he sustained and responded to with manliness and vigor."

They fled in such haste that they were short of provisions,

and the people, also, were too much terrified by Carew's threats to give them help or shelter, so they were forced to seize or starve. This explains much of the hostility they encountered, for no man will permit his substance to be taken without resistance. Scarce a day passed without loss, some fell behind or left the ranks overcome with weariness; some sank and died under accumulated hardships, and others were killed in fight. At first they made tents at night, but later lay under the open sky, and suffered severely. While one detachment of the fighting men collected provisions, the others remained with the main body to protect the women and children, and the whole party were preserved from utter destruction only by the strict discipline maintained by the chief.

O'Sullivan's wife, who accompanied the party, carried and nursed so far, through all her hardships, her little boy, a baby two years old, but now she had to part with him. She intrusted him to the care of one of her faithful dependents, who preserved and reared him up tenderly, and afterward sent him to Spain to the parents.

The ninth day of their weary journey found them beside the Shannon, near Portland, in the north of Tipperary, and here they rested for two nights. But their enemies began to close in on them from the Tipperary side, and as there was no time to be lost, they prepared to cross the broad river opposite the castle of Kiltaroe or Redwood. To do this they built currachs, or hide boats. But nothing better awaited them on the other side of the Shannon. Pushing on northward through O'Kelly's country, they had to defend themselves in skirmish after skirmish. As most of the horses had by this time quite broken down, O'Sullivan had to abandon the wounded to their certain fate, and their despairing cries rang painfully in the ears of the flying multitude. Sometimes when they came near a village, a party were dispatched for provisions, who entered the houses and seized everything in the shape of food they could lay hands on, satisfying their own hunger while they searched, and bringing all they could gather to their starving companions. At Aughrim Captain Malbie was defeated by the desperate fugitives. In the territory of Mac David Burke, they were more harrassed, and pressed on in hope of refuge. For days past they had undergone unspeakable sufferings. The weather was inclement, snow falling heavily, so that they had sometimes

to make their way through deep drifts; and many of those who continued able to walk had to carry some of their companions who were overcome by fatigue and sickness.

Their hope all through had been to reach the territory of O'Rourke, Prince of Brefni, and next morning when the sun rose over Knockvicar, their guide pointed out to them, only five miles off, the towers of one of O'Rourke's residences, Leitrim or Brefni Castle. At eleven o'clock that same day they entered the hospitable mansion, where a kind welcome awaited them. They had set out from Glengarriff a fortnight before, one thousand in number, and that morning only thirty-five entered O'Rourke's castle. A few others afterward arrived in twos and threes; all the rest had either perished or dropped behind from fatigue, sickness, or wounds.

How it fared with South Munster after the capture of Dunboy may be told in a few words. Though the province was now quiet enough, yet several of the rebels were still at large, and there were rumors of other intended risings. Against these dangers Carew took precautions of a very decided character; he had the country turned into a desert: "Hereupon," says Carew, "Sir Charles Wilmot with the English regiments overran all Beare and Bantry, destroying all that they could find meet for the reliefe of men, so as that country was wholly wasted. . . . The president therefore [*i. e.*, Carew himself], as well to debarre those straglers from releefe as to prevent all means of succours to Osulevan if hee should returne with new forces, caused all the county of Kerry and Desmond, Beare, Bantry, and Carbery to be left absolutely wasted, constrayning all the Inhabitants thereof to withdraw their Cattle into the East and Northern parts of the County of Corke."

During the whole of the interval from the autumn of 1600 to the end of 1602 the work of destroying crops, cattle, and homesteads was busily carried on by Mountjoy and Carew, and by the governors of the garrisons, who wasted everything and made deserts for miles round the towns where they were stationed. We have already seen how thoroughly this was done in Munster and Leinster; it was now the turn of Ulster. In June, 1602, Mountjoy marched north to prosecute the war against the rebels, and remained in Ulster during the autumn and winter, traversing the country in all directions, and destroying the poor people's means of subsistence.

And now the famine, so deliberately planned, swept through the whole country, and Ulster was, if possible, in a worse condition than Munster. For the ghastly results of the deputy's cruel policy we have his own testimony, as well as that of his secretary, the historian Moryson. Mountjoy writes: "We have seen no one man in all Tyrone of late but dead carcases merely hunger starved, of which we found divers as we passed. Between Tullaghoge and Toome [seventeen miles] there lay unburied 1000 dead, and since our first drawing this year to Blackwater there were about 3000 starved in Tyrone." But this did not satisfy him; for soon after he says: "To-morrow (by the grace of God) I am going into the field, as near as I can utterly to waste the county Tyrone." Next hear Moryson: "Now because I have often made mention formerly of our destroying the rebels' corn, and using all means to famish them, let me by one or two examples show the miserable estate to which the rebels were thereby brought. . . . And no spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of towns than to see multitudes of these poor people dead with their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend up above ground."

O'Neill was not able to make any headway against Mountjoy and Docwra, and with the few followers that remained to him, he retired into impenetrable bogs and forests. But he refused to submit, still clinging fondly to the expectation of help from abroad.

The news of the death of Red Hugh O'Donnell crushed the last hopes of the chiefs, and Rory O'Donnell and others submitted, and were gladly and favorably received. O'Neill himself, even in his fallen state, was still greatly dreaded, for the government were now, as they had been for years, haunted by the apprehension of another and more powerful armament from Spain. At length Mountjoy, authorized by the queen, sent Sir Garrett Moore, O'Neill's old friend, to offer him life, liberty, and pardon, with title and territory; and in 1603 at Mellifont near Drogheda, a few days after the death of the queen, the chief made submission to the deputy. Soon afterward O'Neill and O'Donnell went to England with Mountjoy. The king received them kindly and graciously, confirmed O'Neill in the title of Earl of Tyrone, made Rory O'Donnell Earl of Tirconnell, and restored both to most of their possessions and privileges.

But the earls were regarded with hatred and suspicion by

the officials and adventurers, especially by those who had hoped to profit by the confiscation of Ulster, and they were subjected to annoyance and humiliation, and beset with spies.

At last matters reached a crisis. In 1607 a report of a conspiracy for another rebellion was concocted and spread, and the two earls being assured by some friends that it was intended to arrest them, made up their minds as to their actions. Tyrone was on a visit at Slane with the deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, when he heard of the matter, and, keeping his mind to himself, he took leave of his host and went to Sir Garrett Moore of Mellifont, where he remained for a few days. On a Sunday morning, he and his attendants took horse for Dundalk. He knew that he was bidding his old friend farewell for the last time, and Sir Garrett, who suspected nothing, was surprised to observe that he was unusually moved, blessing each member of the household individually, and weeping bitterly at parting. He and his party rode on in haste till they reached Rathmullan, on the western shore of Lough Swilly, where a ship awaited them. Here he was joined by the Earl of Tirconnell and his family. The total number of exiles taking ship was about one hundred. At midnight on September 14 they embarked, and bidding farewell forever to their native country, they made for the open sea, and landed in France, where they were received with great distinction by all, from the king downward. From France the earls and their families proceeded to Rome, where they took up their residence, being allowed ample pensions by the Pope and the King of Spain. O'Donnell died in the following year, 1608; and O'Neill, aged, blind, and worn by misfortune and disappointment, died in 1616.

Chapter XIX

CONFISCATION OF LANDS. 1603-1640

LET us now go back a few years in order to bring the history of the religious question abreast with our main narrative. The accession of James I. gave great satisfaction to the Irish, partly because he was descended in one line from their own ancient Milesian kings, and partly because they believed that, though outwardly a Protestant, he was at heart a Catholic, and they had strong hopes that he would restore their freedom of worship. But they found their mistake when the king, in 1605, caused to be revived in Ireland two penal enactments, which during the late troubles had fallen very much into disuse—those of Supremacy and Uniformity. By the Act of Supremacy, it will be remembered, no Catholic, without taking an oath that the king was spiritual head of the church, could hold any office under government, could practice as a lawyer, act as a magistrate, be appointed judge, or take possession of an estate to be held from the king; and as Catholics could not possibly take such an oath, they were excluded from all these offices wherever the act was enforced. By the Act of Uniformity any Catholic might be brought up and fined if he absented himself from Protestant worship on a Sunday, and in Dublin many of those who refused to attend—"Recusants" as they were called—were actually fined or imprisoned. But except in or near Dublin, it was impossible to carry out these laws, for the people were nearly all Catholics. And even in Dublin, the law for the same reason could not be enforced to any extent, and numbers of Catholic magistrates, lawyers, and government officers went on discharging their duties unmolested.

The flight of the earls now gave the opportunity for a project of colonizing parts of Ireland with English and Scotch settlers. The earls had indeed committed no treasonable or unlawful act by leaving the country; nevertheless nearly all the fertile land of six counties—Donegal, Derry, Tyrone, Armagh, Fermanagh, and

Cavan—amounting to nearly three-quarters of a million English acres, was confiscated to the Crown and given to settlers. This was in 1608. The person to whom the king intrusted the management of the whole Plantation was the lord deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester.

A great part of the confiscated district was divided into lots of 2000, 1500, and 1000 acres. The undertakers to whom the 2000-acre lots were granted were all Scotch or English, who were required to people their land with Scotch and English tenants, but no Irish. Those who obtained the middle-sized lots were to be all Protestants who had been in the service of the Crown in Ireland during the late wars—"servitors," as they were called; and they might take Scotch, English, or Irish tenants, but no Catholics. The 1000-acre lots might be taken by English, Scotch, or Irish planters, who might be either Protestants or Catholics, and the Catholics were not required to take the oath of supremacy. Vast tracts were given to London companies of merchants or tradesmen, and to certain high officials; all of whom, both companies and individuals, were to plant their districts with English and Scotch Protestant settlers. Large tracts were granted for religious and educational purposes, all Protestant: Trinity College, Dublin (which had been founded in 1592), getting 9600 acres.

Of the whole body of old Irish proprietors only 286 were provided for: these got 58,000 acres—about one-ninth of the escheated lands. All the rest of the natives were ordered "to depart with their goods and chattels at or before the first of May next [1609] into what other part of the realm they pleased." But, as Chichester well knew, there was really no other part of the realm for them to go to; for the people of other districts would naturally resist the encroachment of strangers. Moreover, it was found impossible to carry out the order for the removal of the whole body of the natives, and numbers remained among the new settlers as mere laborers or tenants of small plots of land. As for the rest, the greater number, instead of migrating to a distance, clung to their native place, and betook them to the hills, glens, and bogs, where they eked out a scanty subsistence, with bitter feelings in their hearts.

This turned out the most successful of all the plantations, and in a short time vast numbers of English Protestants and Scotch Presbyterians were settled on the rich lowland farms all over the

confiscated counties. There was no resistance of any consequence this time; the native people, crushed and dispirited after the calamities of the late rebellion, seem to have submitted to their fate in sullen despair. But the fighting came later on, and in a very dreadful form, for this plantation was one of the main causes of the Great Rebellion of 1641.

To help to pay the expenses of the plantation, the king created the order of "baronets," who were to bear on their coat of arms the "bloody hand," the badge of the O'Neills. Each new baronet had his title on condition that he maintained thirty soldiers for three years, at 8*d.* a day each—about 1095*l.* altogether, which represents something like 10,000*l.* of the present money. As the title was to be hereditary, *i. e.,* was to descend from father to son, it was eagerly sought after, but at that time there was little honor in it, for it was merely sold for money.

The lord deputy now resolved to summon a parliament, the first held for many years; and in order to enable him to pass measures pleasing to the king, he took steps to have a Protestant majority, by creating forty spurious "boroughs," nearly all among the settlers of Ulster; little hamlets with only a few inhabitants, which really did not deserve to be specially represented in parliament, each to return two members. There were many violent scenes in this parliament, for the Catholics, though in a minority, struggled hard, and not altogether unsuccessfully, for their rights. Large sums were voted for the king, who was always in want of money, and some old penal statutes against natives of Irish blood were repealed. English law was extended to the whole of Ireland, a concession the Irish had often previously asked for in vain, and for which James I. should get full credit.

King James continued his plantations in other parts of the country, but instead of turning off the people openly as in Ulster, he adopted a more cunning plan—he sent persons to examine the titles of estates. These managed to find flaws, or pretended flaws, in almost all the titles they examined. If cases came to trial, witnesses and jurors were illegally forced to give evidence and verdicts in favor of the king, on which the owners were either turned out, or had to pay the king large sums to be allowed to remain. The country swarmed with persons called "Discoverers," who gave information of any titles that could be made out faulty, and who, in reward for their crooked proceedings, got, either the

estates, or part of the money paid by the owners to buy themselves off. In consequence of these iniquitous law proceedings, there were several minor plantations in different parts of the country, especially in Leinster, and great numbers of industrious comfortable people were driven away from their homes and reduced to beggary. The whole country was in a miserable state of uncertainty, and no man was sure of his property for a day.

Early in the year 1625, in the midst of all the inquietude caused by the dishonest proceedings related above, King James died, and was succeeded by his son Charles I. This king was in perpetual straits for money, and the Irish Catholics hoped that by granting him subsidies he would have the penal laws relaxed. The Protestants also had their troubles, for many of them, like the Catholics, were threatened with the loss of their estates through the knaveries of the discoverers.

Accordingly in this same year (1625) the Irish gentry, Catholic and Protestant, encouraged by Falkland, the lord deputy, offered to pay 120,000*l.* (nearly a million of our day) in installments to the king, who agreed to grant certain concessions or "Graces" as they were called. There were altogether fifty-one Graces, of which the two most important were, that land owners should be reasonably secured in their estates (which affected Catholics and Protestants alike), and that the Catholics should not be molested on account of their religion. But the king, once he had the money, broke his promise, and dishonestly withheld the Graces; the land titles were not confirmed, and the laws were put in force against the Catholics, who suffered bitterly for a time.

In 1633 the king sent over as deputy, Lord Wentworth, afterward the Earl of Strafford, the most despotic ruler the Irish had yet experienced. He adopted a new course, for he did not follow up the attempt to suppress the Catholic religion: this he reserved for another opportunity. His two main objects were to make the king absolute master in Ireland, and to raise money for him; which he pursued through right and wrong, trampling on all that crossed him, Protestants and Catholics alike. The recusants were induced to give him 20,000*l.* for the king on promise that the penal statutes against them should not be enforced, and the landholders prevailed on him to summon a parliament with the object of having the Graces confirmed—for they could not be carried out

without the sanction of parliament—paying at the same time another year's subsidy. Accordingly, parliament met and passed subsidies for the king amounting to 240,000*l.*, but Wentworth, partly by bullying and partly by trickery, succeeded in evading the Graces.

The motive of all this soon appeared, for in the following year he proceeded to break the titles all over Connaught, on the pretense that they had not been completed according to law, so that he confiscated nearly the whole province. There was a regular trial for each case, and he obtained verdicts in all, for the good reason that he threatened, punished, and imprisoned sheriffs, juries, and lawyers who thwarted him—Catholics and Protestants without distinction. This caused a great outcry, but he persisted in his outrageous and reckless course, though admonished by his friends, who saw dark clouds ahead. There was no use in appealing against this intolerable tyranny, for his master the king, who was pursuing much the same course in England, supported him in everything. By similar iniquitous proceedings he confiscated the whole of Clare and a large part of Tipperary. One main object he accomplished all through, for out of every transaction he made money for the king. But though Connaught was confiscated it was not planted; Wentworth feared that any attempt to do so would raise a rebellion, and the king's position in England was now so precarious that it was thought better to postpone the plantation to some more favorable time—a time which never came for either Wentworth or the king.

At this period there was a flourishing Irish trade in wool and woolen cloths, but Wentworth adopted measures that almost destroyed it, lest it should interfere with the woolen trade of England. On the other hand he took means to create a linen trade, which could do no harm in England, and he thus laid the foundation of what has turned out a great and flourishing industry in Ulster.

Summoning a parliament in 1639, he managed to obtain another supply for King Charles, who was every day getting himself more deeply in conflict with his own parliament in England. But with all his tyranny and evil deeds Wentworth enforced order, and kept down petty tyrants, so that there was an increase of commerce and of general prosperity during his rule. He was now made Earl of Strafford, and he raised an army of 9000 men in

1639-1640

Ireland, nearly all Catholics, who were well drilled and well armed, intending them to be employed in the service of the king. But his career was drawing to a close. He was recalled in 1640 to take command against the Scotch Covenanters. Soon afterward he was impeached by the English House of Commons, some of the most damaging charges against him coming from Ireland, and in May, 1641, he was beheaded on Tower Hill.

Chapter XX

THE REBELLION OF 1641

THIS great and disastrous rebellion was brought about by the measures taken to extirpate the Catholic religion, and by the Plantations, beginning with that of Ulster. The religious hardships of the Catholics were increasing year by year. The Plantations went steadily on with hardly any intermission, and it was well known that Wentworth's tyrannical proceedings had the full approval of the king, so that it seemed plain to the Irish that it was the settled purpose of King Charles and his advisers to root out the whole native population in order to make room for new settlers. Besides all this, the country swarmed with persons wandering hopelessly about in abject poverty, who had been driven from their homes, all of whom longed for the first opportunity to fall on the settlers and regain their homesteads and farms. As to obtaining redress by peaceable means, no one now thought this possible after the experience of the Graces.

At last some of the old Irish chiefs and gentry held meetings and came to the determination to obtain their rights by insurrection. The leading spirit was Rory O'Moore of Leix, a man of great influence and unblemished character; and among many others were Sir Phelim O'Neill of the family of Tyrone, and the Mac Mahons of Oriell.

They hoped for help from abroad, for many of their exiled kindred had by this time risen to positions of great influence in France, Spain, and the Netherlands; and they sent to Owen Roe O'Neill, a soldier who had greatly distinguished himself in the service of Spain, nephew of the great Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, inviting him home to lead the insurgent army. He replied urging an immediate rising and holding out expectations of help from France.

October 23 was the day fixed on for a simultaneous rising. Dublin Castle with its large store of arms, and many of the

fortresses and garrisons all over the country, were to be seized, and the arms taken. Instructions were given to make the gentry prisoners, but to kill or injure no one except in open conflict, and in general to have as little bloodshed as possible. The Ulster settlers from Scotland, being regarded as kinsmen, were not to be molested. On the evening of October 22, 1641, when the preparations had been completed in Dublin, a man named Owen O'Connolly, to whom Mac Mahon had confided the secret, went to Sir William Parsons, one of the lords justices, and told him of the plot. Parsons at first gave no heed to the story, for he perceived that O'Connolly was half drunk. But on consultation with his colleague Sir John Borlase, they arrested Maguire and Mac Mahon on the morning of the 23d; these were subsequently tried in London and hanged. Rory O'Moore and some others then in Dublin escaped. Instant measures were taken to put the city in a state of defense.

But though Dublin was saved, the rising broke out on the 23d all through the North, and the rebels took many forts. Sir Phelim O'Neill exhibited a forged commission giving him authority, which he alleged he had received from King Charles, to which was fraudulently attached the great seal he had found in one of the castles.

At the end of a week nearly all Ulster was in the hands of the rebels, and Sir Phelim had an army of 30,000 men, armed with knives, pitchforks, scythes, and every weapon they could procure. During this week the original orders of the leaders were carried out, and there was hardly any bloodshed. But Sir Phelim, who had none of the great qualities of his illustrious kinsmen, was a bad general, and soon lost all control over his irregular army. Many of those who had risen up were persons that had been deprived of their lands, who after a time broke loose from all discipline, and wreaked their vengeance without restraint and without mercy on the settlers. The country farmhouses all over the settlements were attacked by detached parties, under no orders and checked by no discipline. Multitudes were stripped and turned out half naked from house and home—old and young, men, women, and children; and hundreds, vainly trying to make their way to Dublin, or to other government stations, perished by the wayside, of exposure, hardship, and hunger. But there was even worse, for numbers were murdered, often with great cruelty. Some of

these excesses were carried out by the orders of O'Neill himself, but the greatest number were the acts of irresponsible persons taking vengeance for their own private wrongs. The outrages actually committed were bad enough, but the daily reports that reached England magnified them tenfold, and excited the utmost horror among the English people.

During this terrible outbreak of fury, many Protestants were protected by individual Catholics. The priests exerted themselves to save life, often at great personal risk, sometimes hiding the poor fugitives under the very altar cloths.

The numbers of victims have been by some writers enormously exaggerated, but Dr. Warner, an English writer, a Protestant clergyman, who made every effort to come at the truth, believes that in the first two years of the rebellion, 4000 were murdered, and that 8000 died of ill usage and exposure. Some stories ran the numbers up 300,000, but they were mere exaggerations.

The outrages were not confined to the rebels. There were wholesale murders also on the other side, and the numbers of the Irish that were killed all over the country in places where there had been no rising far exceeded those of the settlers that had fallen victims in Ulster. In November the Scottish garrison of Carrickfergus sallied out and slaughtered a great number of harmless people in Island Magee, where there had been no disturbance of any kind. The two lords justices sent parties of military from Dublin through the country all round, who massacred all the people they met, whether engaged in rebellion or not. Their general, Sir Charles Coote, committed horrible cruelties, especially in Wicklow, surpassing the worst excesses of the rebels, killing and torturing women and infants, as well as men. In Munster Sir William St. Leger slaughtered vast numbers of innocent persons, in order, as he said, to avenge the cruelties committed in Ulster, and forced the people of the province, the Anglo-Irish as well as the old Irish native race, to rise in rebellion, much against their will.

Toward the end of 1641 the old Anglo-Irish nobility and gentry of the Pale, who were all Catholics and all thoroughly loyal, were treated by the two lords justices, Parsons and Borlase, with brutal harshness, merely because they were Catholics. They insulted them in every possible way, and Coote burned many of their houses, so that they were forced to combine for their own protec-

1641

tion, and at last they were driven to join the ranks of the insurgents. There could not have been more unfit men at the head of affairs in this critical time than these lords justices, and their conduct is condemned by historians of all shades of opinion. In spite of the remonstrances of their best counselors they acted in such a manner as to spread the trouble instead of allaying it, so that in a short time the rebellion had extended through all Ireland.

Chapter XXI

FROM KILKENNY TO BENBURB. 1642-1649

AT the opening of 1642 there were in the distracted country four distinct parties, each with an army. The first of these, the Old Irish, whose leader was Rory O'Moore, were oppressed by Plantations and by religious hardships, and they aimed at total separation from England. Their army was chiefly confined to Ulster.

The Old Anglo-Irish Catholics, nearly all of the middle and south of Ireland, suffered on account of their religion as much as the Old Irish; and also by the Plantations, though not to the same extent; and they wanted religious and civil liberty, but not separation from England. These two parties represented all the Catholics of Ireland; but there was much jealousy and distrust between them, and this disunion ruined their cause in the end.

The Puritans, including the Presbyterians and Scots of Ulster, formed a third party under General Monro. At this time King Charles I. was getting deeper and deeper into trouble with the parliament in England, and of all the Parliamentarians, his most determined and successful enemies were the Covenanters of Scotland. Monro and his army worked in harmony with the Covenanters, and as they were very hostile to Catholics and the Catholic religion, they were the special opponents of the Old Irish Party, with whom they constantly came into collision in Ulster.

Finally, there was the Royalist Party, who held Dublin. These were chiefly Protestants of the Established Church, who were opposed to the Parliamentarians. They were the party of the king; and they wished to make it appear that the Catholics were rebels against him.

The war went on during the early part of 1642 with varying fortunes; sometimes the rebels were victorious, sometimes the government forces. In Ulster the rebels were losing ground, and losing heart, chiefly through the incompetency of Sir Phelim O'Neill, who had no military knowledge or experience. The Scot-

tish army there soon amounted to 20,000 men under Monro, who plundered and spoiled the province with little check.

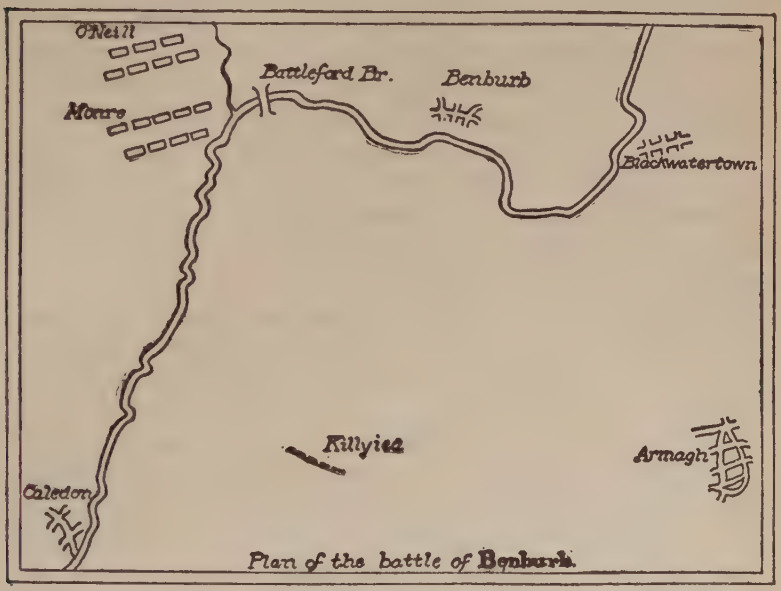
Owen Roe O'Neill landed in Donegal in July, 1642, with a single ship and a hundred officers, and taking command of the Old Irish army in place of Sir Phelim, immediately set about organizing the scattered Irish forces. He soon changed the whole aspect of affairs. He strongly denounced the past cruelties, severely punished the offenders, so far as he was able to reach them, and set free the Protestant prisoners, whom he caused to be escorted to a place of safety. Soon afterward another important leader landed on the Wexford coast to join the Catholic party, Colonel Preston. He had distinguished himself in the wars on the Continent; and he now took command of the Anglo-Irish Catholic army.

The two branches of the Catholics had hitherto acted independently of one another, each struggling for much the same cause, but without any unity of plan. But a great effort was now made by the Catholic bishops and other dignitaries to bring these two parties to act in concert, and in accordance with their arrangements a general assembly or parliament of the most distinguished men of both sections, consisting of eleven bishops, fourteen lay lords, and 226 commoners, met in Kilkenny on October 24. This is known as the "Confederation of Kilkenny." The Royalist Party of Dublin represented them as in rebellion, but the Confederate leaders earnestly denied that they were rebels, and proclaimed themselves loyal subjects, standing up for the king, who, they said, would do them justice if the Puritans would only let him act freely. The assembly, having first proclaimed their loyalty to the king, took upon themselves for the time the government of the country, or of that part of it outside the influence of the lords justices, and appointed generals over the army: O'Neill for Ulster, Preston for Leinster, and two others for Munster and Connaught. To manage affairs with greater facility they elected from their number a "Supreme Council" of twenty-four, six from each province. And they issued a decree for raising and coining money, and for levying men, who were to be drilled by the officers that had come with O'Neill and Preston. For some time after this the two Catholic parties worked in union; and Owen Roe O'Neill with the Old Irish carried on the war in Ulster against Monro, and Preston with the Anglo-Irish Catholics in Leinster against the Royalists.

The king was most anxious to come to terms with the Confederates as a help against the English and Scotch Parliamentarians; and in 1644 he appointed James Butler, Marquis (afterward Duke) of Ormond, lord lieutenant, with full power to offer satisfactory terms to the Confederates. But Ormond was only half-hearted in the business, so the proceedings still dragged on; and besides this, the king was a double-dealer, ready to promise anything, but intending to perform as little as possible. When accused by the Parliamentarians of offering favorable terms to the Roman Catholics, he openly denied that he had done any such thing. He was in fact trying to deceive both parties, Catholics and Parliamentarians.

With the object of more closely uniting the Old Irish and Old English to defend the Catholic religion and to sustain the king against the Parliamentarians, the Pope sent to the Confederates, as nuncio, Archbishop Baptist Rinuccini, who brought them a supply of money and arms. But this encouragement was much more than counter-balanced by the ever-increasing fatal division in the Confederation. The bishops and those who represented the Old Irish Party were for carrying on the war vigorously, and on their side were Rinuccini and O'Neill. On the other hand the Anglo-Irish Party, chiefly consisting of the lay element, who had the majority in the assembly, were for treating with the Royalists, and following out this line of policy, they held back military operations and wasted time in fruitless negotiations. To make matters worse there was bitter rivalry between the two generals: Preston hated O'Neill, and O'Neill took no pains to conceal his contempt for Preston. The Anglo-Irish Party, through mere jealousy of O'Neill, the only great soldier now in Ireland, refused to support him with the necessary supplies, so that for a long time he was unable to make head against Monro in the North. Though struggling against these great difficulties, he at last succeeded, partly by means of the money supplied by the nuncio, in collecting an army of 5000 foot and 500 horse; which he kept stationed on the borders of Cavan. Meantime Monro, aware that Leinster was at this time almost unprotected—for Preston with his army was in Connaught —made preparations to march southward to Kilkenny to annihilate the small Confederate force left there, and suppress the Confederation itself. When O'Neill received intelligence of this, he broke up camp and marched north in the beginning of June, 1646, de-

termined to intercept him, and if possible, to draw him into battle. Monro had set out from Carrickfergus with 6000 foot and 800 horse, and hearing, on arriving near Armagh, of O'Neill's movement, he turned aside from his course in order to crush the Irish army; and he sent word to his brother George Monro to join him with a reinforcement of cavalry. For he had been warned to beware of O'Neill's consummate generalship, and he was unwilling



Plan of the battle of Benburb.

to meet him except with very superior numbers. But O'Neill had been too quick for him. He arrived at Glasslough before the brothers had time to join, and crossing the Blackwater into Tyrone, he encamped at Benburb. Next morning, June 5, having first sent two regiments north under Bernard Mac Mahon and Patrick Mac Neny to intercept George Monro, he selected at his leisure an excellent position for battle on the Blackwater, between two small hills, with a wood in the rear, and awaited the approach of the Scottish army. Early on that same morning Monro marched from Armagh toward Benburb, crossed the river and advanced toward O'Neill. The two armies now stood face to face, but O'Neill, knowing that his opponents were already wearied after their long morning's march, skillfully wasted the day in light skir-

mishes till late in the evening, when the sun had come round and shone full in the faces of the Scottish army. While the skirmishing was still going on, and growing every moment more hot, Monro was deceived by mistaking some Irish for his reënforcements, and O'Neill seized the moment for a general assault. Twice did Monro attempt to stop the advance by hurling against the ranks squadrons of cavalry, which in both cases were driven back among his footmen, and he could not bring up his rear detachments. In the midst of all this confusion, down on them came O'Neill's well-arranged solid battalions. At once they gave way before this terrible onset, and, turning round, rushed back in utter rout. But right in their way flowed the river, deep and rapid; and, besides those slain in fight, vast numbers were drowned in attempting to cross, so that the survivors were able to pass over the bodies lying in the water. Monro himself escaped and fled in panic, bareheaded, leaving on the field his cloak, helmet, and wig. Upward of 2000 of his army fell, while the Irish lost only seventy.

This great victory of O'Neill, which was quite as brilliant as that of his uncle at the Yellow Ford, forty-eight years before, restored for a time the influence of the Old Irish Party in the Confederation.

It became known to the Confederates that Ormond had been holding correspondence with the Parliamentarians, and fearing lest Dublin might be betrayed, they ordered O'Neill and Preston to combine their forces and attempt its capture—a thing that might have been easily accomplished, for, though Ormond had been making some hasty preparations, the defenses were very weak. The two armies had arrived within a few miles of the city, but there was delay, owing mainly to the obstruction of Preston, who, following up the spirit of the Confederate majority, proposed to treat with Ormond instead of attacking the city at once. During this period of hesitation and suspicion, a trifling alarm occurred, on which both armies broke up camp and marched away. The end of the matter was that Ormond delivered up Dublin to the Parliamentarians and went to France. Soon afterward—in August of 1647—Preston was disastrously defeated by Colonel Jones, the Parliamentarian governor of Dublin, with a loss of more than 5000 men, and in the same year Lord Inchiquin, formerly a Royalist but now on the side of the Parliament—who is known as Murrogh the Burner from his merciless ravages in Munster—inflicted quite as

bad a defeat on the Confederate army at Knocknanuss near Mallow, owing to the incapacity of their commander, Lord Taaffe.

After more than a year's absence, Ormond returned, and having resumed his place as head of the Protestant Royalists, he finally made peace with the Confederates, in 1649, agreeing to their main condition that the laws against Catholics should be repealed; and it was also stipulated that both the Confederates and Ormond's forces should combine and act in support of the king. Thus came to a termination a seven years' war between the Confederates and the Royalists. But all this was too late. Dublin had been given up, and was now in the hands of the Parliamentarians, and about a fortnight after the peace had been signed, King Charles was beheaded. In the same year the nuncio, finding his mission a failure, returned to Rome.

The death of the king caused a counter-movement in Ireland, and many abandoned the Parliamentary side. The Royalist cause was now favored, as against the English Parliamentarians, by nearly all the Irish parties, including Ormond, the Confederates, and the Scots and Presbyterians of Ulster, and they proclaimed the Prince of Wales king as Charles II. On the side of the Parliament, Jones still held Dublin, and Sir Charles Coote, Derry. Inchiquin—now again turned Royalist—took from them Drogheda, Dundalk, Newry, and Trim; and Ormond, with a view of following up Inchiquin's successes, besieged Dublin to recover what he had so easily given up two years before. He encamped at Rathmines, but took steps to move his encampment toward the mouth of the Liffey, in order to stop supplies coming by sea to the city. With this object he ordered Major-General Purcell to fortify the old castle of Bagot Rath, not far from the mouth of the river, standing on a site then in the open country, but now occupied by a part of Upper Baggot Street. But before the work had been even begun, Jones sallied forth in the night of August 2, and surprised not only Purcell, but Ormond himself, and utterly routed the whole army. This great disaster, which was due to the dilatoriness of Purcell and the bad generalship of Ormond, almost ruined the Royalist cause in Ireland.

Chapter XXII

IRELAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH. 1649-1660

IN England the Parliamentarians, headed by Cromwell, were now triumphant, while the great majority of the Irish stood up for King Charles II. There was a small party of Parliamentarians in Ireland, too, who held Dublin, Derry, and a few other important places, and in order to crush finally the Royalists it became necessary to reduce Ireland. With this object Oliver Cromwell, as the best and most influential of the Parliamentarian generals, was appointed lord lieutenant and commander of the forces in Ireland, and landed at Dublin on August 14 with 9000 foot, 4000 horse, a supply of military stores, and 20,000*l.* in money, accompanied by his son-in-law Ireton as second in command. Before commencing his military operations he issued a proclamation against plunder and excesses of every kind, ordering that all supplies taken from the natives should be paid for. He first proceeded against Drogheda, which had been garrisoned by Ormond with 3000 troops, chiefly English, under Sir Arthur Ashton. The walls were battered with cannon for two days till a sufficient breach was made, when the order was given to storm. Two desperate attempts to enter were repulsed, but the third succeeded, and immediately, on Cromwell's order, a general massacre was commenced, which lasted for several days; and Ashton and his garrison, with great numbers of the townspeople, were killed. About thirty of the garrison who had escaped the massacre were shipped off to Barbadoes as slaves. After this, Trim, Dundalk, Carlingford, Newry, and several other places in the north, surrendered.

Cromwell returned to Dublin, and marching south, appeared before Wexford, which was well fortified and garrisoned with 3000 men, under the command of David Sinnott. He began his cannonade on October 11, and when some breaches had been made, Sinnott asked for a parley. But meantime Captain Stafford, the commander of the strong castle just outside the walls, treacher-

ously delivered it up to Cromwell's troops; which enabled a party of the besiegers to get into the town and open the gates. The garrison, finding they were betrayed, retreated to the market-place, where they found the townspeople congregated. Here they defended themselves in desperation for an hour, but were overpowered by numbers, and Cromwell's soldiers, under his orders, killed garrison and townspeople without distinction, to the number of 2000. The fate of Drogheda and Wexford struck the Irish with terror; Cork and many other southern towns now yielded on mere summons, and Cromwell rested his troops for a month in mid-winter at Youghal.

In the midst of all this havoc and clash of war, Owen Roe O'Neill, the only commander in Ireland that seemed a match for the great parliamentary general, was struck down by sickness on his way southward to join Ormond, and died at Cloghoughter Castle in Cavan on November 6, 1649, and with him passed away the chief hope of the Royalist party.

At the end of January Cromwell set out to traverse Munster. Most towns he came to were given up, and where there was serious resistance he usually put the garrison to the sword. At Clonmel, which was held by Hugh O'Neill, Owen Roe's nephew, he met with the most determined resistance he had yet experienced. For a long time all efforts to take the town were foiled; and after a final assault in the month of May, he had to withdraw with a loss of 2500 of his men. But O'Neill, having exhausted his ammunition, quietly withdrew in the night with his army to Waterford, and as Cromwell was not aware of this movement, the town was able to obtain favorable terms on surrender.

In the north his generals, Colonel Venables and Sir Charles Coote—son of Sir Charles Coote of Wicklow notoriety—were also very successful, capturing town after town, and by May the Parliamentarians had possession of the greater number of the fortresses of both North and South. On the surrender of Clonmel, Cromwell, seeing the country virtually subdued, sailed for England on May 29, after a stay of nine months, leaving Ireton to finish the war. At the very time that the Confederates were thus loyally fighting and suffering for Charles, this young king, who was then in Scotland, repudiated any agreement with the Irish, in order that he might gain the favor of the Scots, and declared himself against allowing them liberty to practice their religion.

Ireton now turned his attention to Limerick, the most important place in possession of the Royalists, which was commanded by Hugh O'Neill, the defender of Clonmel. O'Neill defended the place with great obstinacy; but there was disunion, and he was not supported by the magistrates, and besides, the plague was raging among the citizens. At length the place was betrayed. The garrison was allowed to march away, but several of the prominent defenders were executed. Ireton himself died of the plague within a month. After his death, Lieutenant General Edmund Ludlow, taking command, marched to the aid of Coote at Galway, which surrendered on May 12, 1652, after a siege of nine months, and the capture of a few detached castles completed the conquest of Ireland by the Parliamentarians.

Charles Fleetwood, who was Cromwell's son-in-law—having married Ireton's widow—took command of the army, and was afterward appointed lord deputy. Under his direction a High Court of Justice was instituted in October, to punish those who had been concerned in the rising of 1641; about 200 were sentenced and hanged, and among them Sir Phelim O'Neill. On the very scaffold he was offered pardon if he only asserted that the forged commission he exhibited eleven years before had been really given him by King Charles, which would be a sort of justification for the king's execution; but he resolutely refused, and died with fortitude and Christian penitence.

The war was now—1652—ended; but for a long time there had been a terrible pestilence raging all over the country, which still continued. Famine came to help the work of destruction, and for two or three years these two scourges spread death and desolation and misery everywhere. But worse than even all this was to come. Cromwell's soldiers were to be paid by grants of confiscated estates when the country should be conquered. The English Parliament now professed to consider the whole of Ireland forfeited, and that therefore they might do as they pleased with the land and the people. In August, 1652, the Parliament passed an act to dispose of the Irish. The poorer sort of people of the three provinces of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster—plowmen, tradesmen, laborers, etc.—were not to be disturbed, for the settlers would need them as mere workingmen. All above these, the gentry of every class, whether Anglo-Irish or of old native blood, were ordered to transplant themselves and their families across the Shannon into Con-

naught and Clare, where they were to be given small allotments of lands that had been left waste. The same edict, though mainly directed against Catholics, was not exclusively confined to them. Many Protestants who had fought against the Parliament were included in the proscription. The Presbyterians of Down and Antrim did not escape scathless, for they had shown some loyalty to the king. They were to transplant themselves, not to Connaught, but to the hilly parts of Leinster, where poor little plots of land were assigned to them.

The Catholic Irish were to move to the West by May 1, 1654; and any of those ordered away—young or old—men or women—found in any part of the three provinces after that date, might be killed by whoever met them. Moreover, they were not permitted to live within four miles of the sea or of any town, or within two miles of the Shannon.

Those who were forced to undertake this terrible migration were mostly families accustomed to a life of easy comfort. It so happened that the move had to be made chiefly in winter, and the season was unusually wet and severe. The roads were so bad as to be almost impassable, for people had something else to do in those times besides attending to roads, and as the miserable crowds trudged along, hundreds of women, children, and feeble persons perished of want and hardship.

But great numbers of the younger men, instead of migrating, formed themselves into bands to be avenged on the new settlers, like the expelled natives of Queen Mary's time. These "Tories" and "Rapparees," as they were called, gave great trouble, plundering and killing at every opportunity; they were hunted down by the settlers, and neither gave nor received quarter. This terrible war went on for many years till the Tories were in great measure exterminated.

The Irish soldiers who had fought against the Parliament were allowed to enlist in foreign countries; and 34,000 of them emigrated and entered the service of France, Spain, Austria, and Venice. There were widows and orphans everywhere, and a terrible fate awaited these: they were hunted down and brought forth from their hiding places, and large numbers of them, and many men also, were sent to the West Indian Islands to be sold as slaves.

A new survey of the country was made, and the lands were distributed to Cromwell's soldiers and to those who had advanced

money to carry on the war. This vast exodus of the native population went on from 1652 to 1654. But it was found impossible to clear the gentry completely out of the land. Many settled in wild places; many were taken as under-tenants on their own lands, and in course of time many intermarried with the new settlers. The laws against the Catholic religion and against Catholic priests were now put in force with unsparing severity. But the priests remained among their flocks, hiding in wild places and under various disguises, and the Catholic religion was practiced as earnestly and as generally as ever.

This dreadful Cromwellian episode must be taken as proceeding, not from the English Government or the English people, but from the will of one man, who then ruled as despotically in England as in Ireland, though not with such cruelty.

Chapter XXIII

IRELAND AFTER THE RESTORATION. 1660-1688

CHARLES II.'s restoration (1660) pleased the Roman Catholics very much, for as they had fought and suffered for his father and for himself, they naturally expected to be reinstated, at least to a reasonable extent, in their lands, from which they had been expelled only six or seven years previously. Without any great difficulty he could have repaired much of the injustice done to the old inhabitants while inflicting no very serious hardship on the new. But the faithless king, while rewarding several leading persons who had been his bitterest enemies, gave himself little concern about those who had befriended him in his time of need, either in England or in Ireland, and the Catholics received a scant measure of justice. The Irish Parliament, having considered the claims of the old and of the new proprietors, passed what is called the Act of Settlement (1661), which gave the new settlers, as a body, a title to their holdings. But those of the dispossessed Catholic owners who could prove that they were innocent of any connection with the rising of 1641 were to be restored. The term "Nocent" was used to designate those who had been involved in the rebellion; "Innocent," those who proved themselves free of it. Any of the settlers whom this new arrangement displaced were to be "reprised" by granting land elsewhere.

To try these numerous cases, a "Court of Claims" was established in 1663. But before this court had been long at work, it was found that almost all that came before it to be tried were able to prove themselves "Innocent"—a result quite unexpected, so that the settlers became greatly alarmed, and many threatened to rise in rebellion. Through their influence a stop was put to the proceedings, and a new act was passed, known as the Act of Explanation (1665), under which the settlers agreed to give up one-third of their possessions. But this did not afford nearly enough for all those who were able to make good their claim to be restored, and for those of the settlers who were to be reprised, and

to make matters worse, the king gave immense grants to his relatives and to other favored persons having no claim of any kind, which greatly lessened the available land.

After much wrangling, lasting over some years, matters were adjusted; and it came to this, that whereas before the Settlement the Catholics possessed two-thirds of all the arable land (the remaining third being held by Protestants of the Plantation times of Elizabeth and James), after the time of this final arrangement they had only one-third, while two-thirds remained with the Protestants. There remained a large proportion of the Catholics who were not restored, most of them dispossessed persons whose cases were not heard at all, on account of the stoppage of the Court of Claims. Numbers of these held on in their poor homes in Connaught; and some, having no implements or stock or capital to start them in their new life, sank into hopeless poverty and perished of privation. As to the new settlers and their children, the majority, like those of earlier times, became gradually absorbed by intermarriage among the natives.

At the time of the Restoration the population of Ireland was about 1,100,000, of whom 800,000 were Roman Catholics—including the old English, who were nearly all Catholics; 100,000 were Protestants of the Established Church; and 200,000 Non-conforming Protestants, of whom one-half (100,000) were Presbyterians. All sections of Protestants were alike hostile to the Roman Catholics. During the Parliamentary sway the Non-conformists had the upper hand, and the Established Church was repressed, and its clergy removed, though beyond this neither clergy nor people suffered much; while still stronger measures, as we have seen, were taken against the Roman Catholics. One of the first acts of Charles II. was to restore the Established Church in Ireland; and the bishops and ministers returned to their dioceses and parishes, all being provided with good incomes, though they had but few parishioners.

After this, the Act of Uniformity was brought to bear chiefly on the Presbyterians, although they had helped to restore the king; and they now suffered a sharp, though short, persecution, for nearly all determinedly refused to comply with the requirements of the act. They were forbidden to hold their customary kirk meetings or sessions; their clergy were fined or sent to jail for not conforming; and in the end, nearly all were expelled from their ministry and their homes, because they would not submit to be ordained by the

bishop, while some were altogether banished from the country. But most held their ground, living in the old neighborhood as best they could, and secretly kept religion alive among their flocks. A large number of the lay members—sober, industrious, and peaceful people—unwilling to live in a country where they were not permitted to practice their religion, sold their property and emigrated to the Puritan colonies of New England. But by unyielding firmness the Presbyterians at length obtained toleration and justice.

Ormond, who was lord lieutenant (except for a short time) during Charles II.'s reign, ruled wisely and moderately, and under him the country prospered materially. The Catholics were not so severely treated as formerly, and except at the time of the Titus Oates plot in England, when Dr. Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, was falsely charged and executed, did not suffer greatly.

James II., who was a Roman Catholic, succeeded his brother Charles in 1685, and his accession gave great joy to the Catholics of Ireland, and corresponding alarm to the Protestants. He soon entered on the dangerous task of restoring the Catholic religion in both countries, and entered on it in a manner so openly offensive, harsh, and illegal, that the whole Protestant population rose up against him. Colonel Richard Talbot, a strict Catholic, of a disposition over-zealous and imprudent, was sent to Ireland as commander of the forces, and was created Earl of Tirconnell. As a sort of set-off, the king appointed his own brother-in-law, Lord Clarendon, who was a Protestant, lord lieutenant in place of Ormond. But Clarendon was a mere shadow; Tirconnell was the real ruler, and one of his first acts was to disarm the militia, who were all Protestants. He disbanded thousands of Protestant soldiers and officers, and replaced them with Catholics. Most of the Protestant officers went to Holland, and were provided for by William, Prince of Orange, under whom they afterward fought against King James in Ireland. Tirconnell also appointed Catholic judges, sheriffs, and magistrates, making room for them when necessary by the removal of Protestants. He made an attempt to have the Act of Settlement repealed, but in this he failed.

At length Clarendon was removed and Tirconnell was appointed lord lieutenant to rule Ireland (1687), which created quite a panic among the Protestants all over the country, so that hundreds fled from their homes to England and elsewhere. Ulster especially was in a miserable state of inquietude: Protestants and

Catholics looked on each other with suspicion and fear; the memories of the mutual cruelties of 1641 were revived and exaggerated, and terrific rumors ran rife of intended murders and massacres. In the midst of all these alarms in Ireland, William, Prince of Orange, whose wife was King James's daughter Mary, landed in England on November 5 to claim the throne; and King James, deserted by numbers of his officers, who went over to William's army, fled to France in December, in haste, secrecy, and abject terror.

Nearly all the people of England were Protestants, who, after the experience of James's recent proceedings, came to the determination to have a Protestant king, and they allowed William to take possession without opposition. In Ireland the vast majority of the people were Catholics, who did not want a Protestant king. They stood up for King James, so that William had to fight for Ireland, and thus began the war between the two kings, known as the War of the Revolution.

Seeing the turn things had taken in England, Tirconnell adopted immediate measures to secure Ireland for King James. He raised a large irregular untrained army of Catholics, and took possession of the most important places all through the country, garrisoning them with Jacobite troops. In the south, where the Protestants were few, there was little or no resistance; but it was otherwise in Ulster, where the people of two important centers, Derry and Enniskillen, refused to admit his garrisons; and several other towns yielded only through force. Derry was then a small town, nearly in the form of an oblong half a mile in length, standing on a hill rising over the left or Donegal bank of the River Foyle, four miles from its mouth. It was encompassed by a wall, and communication was kept up with the opposite or eastern side by a ferry, for there was no bridge. This little town was then of small importance, but was soon to become famous by the defense it now made, and the consequences which that defense had upon the future operations of the war.

The excitement among the Protestants of Ireland caused by the proceedings of Tirconnell continued to increase. In Derry the news of the approach of the Jacobite army caused immense commotion. The aldermen and magistrates were in great doubt whether they should open the gates, or embark on a course of resistance that seemed desperate. But the humbler classes were in no doubt

at all: they had their minds made up, for they believed the whole proceeding was merely a trap to secure their destruction all the more easily on the next day but one, and they clamored to have the gates shut. When the army appeared, a few young apprentices boldly shut the gates against it, whereupon it marched away. Later the town consented to admit two companies from the Jacobite army, on the stipulation that they were all to be Protestants, under the command of Colonel Lundy. When the news came from England of William's successful progress, together with the letters of encouragement from him, the town no longer hesitated.

They renounced their allegiance to King James, and publicly proclaimed William and Mary as their sovereigns. Lundy took the oath of allegiance to William, with the others, but he did so with evident reluctance and not in public.

Chapter XXIV

THE SIEGE OF DERRY. 1689

WHEN King James heard of Tirconnell's active proceedings, and found that his cause had been taken up in the greater part of the country, he mustered up courage and sailed for Ireland, landing at Kinsale on March 12, 1689, with a number of French officers and Irish refugees, and a supply of money, arms, and ammunition, furnished by King Louis of France, but beyond that, with no army properly so called. The commander of the expedition was a French general, Marshal Rosen. Among the Irish who accompanied the king the most distinguished was Patrick Sarsfield, afterward Earl of Lucan—a great soldier and an honorable, high-minded gentleman, who was quite as much respected by his opponents as by his own party. His personal appearance corresponded with his character, for he had a noble countenance, and stood over six feet high, straight and well proportioned.

The king arrived in Dublin on March 24, and shortly after set out for the north in the belief that it would yield at his coming. Hamilton had driven the Protestants to refuge in Derry, and James made his journey through a miserable country. Lundy was for surrendering Derry: he was only half-hearted in William's cause, and did not believe the town could be successfully defended. He treacherously sent back two regiments of reinforcements from England, and connived at the withdrawal of the prominent men. The inhabitants at first were not all of the same mind, for "while some were framing terms of surrender, others were placing guns on the wall for defense." Most of the authorities, with the governor at their head, were inclined to yield, while the populace, who had possession of the walls and gates, were all for fighting. The king approached the south gate with his staff, expecting to see it fly open, but instead of a greeting, he heard a fierce shout of "No surrender," and a volley was fired from one of the bastions which killed an officer by his side, on which he immediately retired out of

range. But negotiations still went on, and Lundy and a section of the magistrates endeavored to bring about a surrender. The arrival of Murray with some horse decided the town for resistance. Lundy escaped, and Murray, Major Baker, and the Rev. George Walker became the leaders.

The die was now cast, and it was resolved to defend the city to the last. It was badly prepared to stand a siege; the defenses were not strong; the defenders were mere working people, ignorant of war; there were thousands of refugees, and the stock of provisions was low.

But with all these discouragements the determination of the Derry people remained unshaken. Under Murray's directions they formed themselves into companies and regiments, appointed officers to command them, took their turns at guarding and fighting, obeyed the orders of their newly appointed commanders, and faced dangers and hardships with the utmost docility and cheerfulness. When all arrangements had been completed it was found that there were about 7000 fighting men, led by 340 officers—eight regiments in all, each under a colonel. The men worked incessantly strengthening the defenses. Two guns were planted on the flat roof of the cathedral, which greatly annoyed the surrounding Jacobite detachments during the whole siege, and at every gate was placed a gun which commanded the approach.

As to King James, when he found all his proposals rejected he returned to Dublin, leaving the direction of the siege to the French General Maumont, with Hamilton second in command. He summoned a parliament in Dublin, at which a number of measures were hastily passed. It was ordained that there should be full freedom of worship for all religious denominations—a creditable act. The Act of Settlement was repealed, which meant that the new settlers would have to restore the lands to the old owners, but with compensation when necessary, an act of questionable value at that time. More than 2000 persons were attainted, and their lands declared confiscated, for having joined the Prince of Orange—an act that has earned much blame for this Parliament. But all this active legislation came to nothing, for before there was time to enforce it, King James and his government were superseded. To meet current expenses a tax was levied on estates. But as this was not enough, the king issued base coins to the amount of nearly 1,000,000*l.*, which ruined many, and was of little real avail. On

April 18, 1689, the siege of Derry began in good earnest, and from that day forward was carried on with great energy.

In one important respect the besiegers were much worse off than the besieged—namely, in the supply of war materials. Their arms were damaged and useless, and ammunition was lacking. The army, moreover, which was composed of raw recruits, was scattered. Both parties were badly prepared, the one to carry on the siege, the other to resist it. But there was one all-important difference: the besiegers had a fair, though not a sufficient, supply of food, while the defenders, toward the end of the siege, had to fight while starving.

Maumont and Hamilton felt assured that the town would yield to the first serious attack, and they began their work vigorously. The first artillery fire was disconcerting, but the people soon became used to it. Religious enthusiasm, too, came to their aid, animating them in fighting and helping to sustain them in their privations. Anglicans and Dissenters attended at the same church at different hours of the day, when their turn off military duty came round, and the clergy of each denomination conducted divine service and preached to their respective congregations. Among the most active was the Rev. George Walker, who kept constantly exhorting the people during the siege, from both pulpit and rampart.

On April 21 Murray made a sally with a party of horse and foot, but they were received with great determination by the Irish, and after a long and furious struggle had to withdraw, Murray barely escaping with his life. Yet the besiegers suffered severely in this fight, for they lost 200 men, and their general, Maumont, was killed by Murray in a personal encounter. Hamilton then took the chief command.

During May and June the fighting went on—sallies and attempts to storm, desperate conflicts and great loss of life—both parties fighting with equal obstinacy. On June 4 Hamilton determined to capture the important point, Windmill Hill. His men were met by an unexpected and continuous fire, yet they pressed on. They were repulsed at the wall, and Captain Butler was captured, and 400 men were lost.

After this repulse, a terrible fire of bombs, great and small, was kept up on the town for several days, doing immense damage, but to no effect.

Seeing all active efforts foiled, Hamilton resolved to turn the

siege into a blockade, and starve the garrison to surrender. On the land side he had the town quite surrounded, and every entrance strictly guarded, so that the townsmen found it impossible to hold any communication with the outside, or to obtain any supplies. Their hopes now lay in help from England—the help that William had promised. Every day watchmen took station on the church tower, anxiously looking out to sea for relief; and at length, in the middle of June, they shouted down the joyous news that thirty ships were sailing up Lough Foyle. Signals were made from masthead and steeple, but were not understood by either side, till at last a bold volunteer brought news that deliverance was at hand, for Major General Kirke, the commander of the fleet, had come to relieve the town. But the hope was short-lived; for Kirke, having sailed as far as Culmore fort at the mouth of the Foyle, which was held by the Jacobites, was afraid to enter the river, and the hearts of the townsmen sank when they beheld the whole fleet retiring. Yet, during all this time of miserable suspense and suffering, they never relaxed their vigilance, but kept working incessantly, repairing the old fortifications and constructing new ones, while the women everywhere encouraged the men and bore hardship and hunger uncomplainingly.

In order to make it impossible for the ships to bring relief, Hamilton now caused a great boom to be made of strong cables and timber logs, more than a quarter of a mile long, and stretched tightly across the river two miles below the town, strengthening it by huge stakes driven into the river-bed and by boats full of stones sunk to the bottom beside them. "This," says Walker, "did much trouble us, and scarce left us any hopes." The strict blockade told at last. Provisions began to run short among people of all classes. The weather was excessively hot, and hunger was followed by disease and many deaths, and they could not get news of their plight to the fleet.

Toward the end of June King James, growing impatient at the length of the siege, sent Marshal Rosen to take command, with instructions to adopt more vigorous measures. The new commander invested the place still more closely and made many furious assaults, but all in vain; the defenders were as determined as ever, and repelled all his attacks. Becoming furious at last at the obstinate and prolonged defense, Rosen resorted to an inhuman plan to force surrender. Having collected over a thousand Protestants,

he placed them between the army and the town walls, to starve or be taken into the town. The reply of the town was the erection of a gallows upon the ramparts for the execution of the Jacobite prisoners then in their hands. Whereupon these prisoners besought Hamilton to save them by inducing Rosen to let the poor people go: "We are all willing to die," they say, "sword in hand for his majesty [King James]; but to suffer like malefactors is hard: nor can we lay our blood to the charge of the garrison, the governor and the rest having used and treated us with all civility imaginable." After two days Rosen, becoming alarmed, permitted the people to depart, although many had died in that time.

Meantime Kirke made no move. For more than six weeks he lay idle, with abundance of food stowed away in his ships, though he could plainly see the signal of distress flying from the cathedral steeple, while the townspeople were famishing, driven to eat horseflesh, dogs, grease, and garbage of every kind. The garrison fared no better. Yet these brave fellows—ragged and starving—stood resolutely to their posts, and uttered no word of complaint. But with all this constancy, hunger and disease were playing sad havoc with the cooped-up people, and must before many days bring about what force failed to accomplish.

When matters seemed hopeless the garrison offered to surrender, but as the terms were not satisfactory the siege went on. Kirke, having received peremptory orders, sent two merchantmen and a frigate to relieve the town on the evening of Sunday, July 28. Macaulay describes the relief graphically:

"The sun had just set; the evening service in the cathedral was over, and the heart-broken congregation had separated, when the sentinels on the towers saw the sails of three vessels coming up the Foyle. Soon there was a stir in the Irish camp. The besiegers were on the alert for miles along both shores. The ships were in extreme peril, for the river was low, and the only navigable channel ran very near to the left bank, where the headquarters of the enemy had been fixed, and where the batteries were most numerous. . . . At length the little squadron came to the place of peril. Then the *Mountjoy* took the lead and went right at the boom. The huge barricade cracked and gave way, but the shock was such that the *Mountjoy* rebounded and stuck in the mud. A yell of triumph arose from the banks; the Irish rushed to their boats, and were preparing to board, but the *Dartmouth* poured on them a well-

directed broadside, which threw them into disorder. Just then the *Phoenix* dashed into the breach which the *Mountjoy* had made, and was in a moment within the fence. Meanwhile the tide was rising fast. The *Mountjoy* began to move and soon passed safe within the broken stakes and floating spars. But her brave master was no more. A shot from one of the batteries had struck him, and he died by the most enviable of all deaths, in sight of the city which was his birthplace, which was his home, and which had just been saved by his courage and self-devotion from the most frightful form of destruction. The night had closed in before the conflict at the boom began, but the flash of the guns was seen and the noise heard by the lean and ghastly multitude which covered the walls of the city. When the *Mountjoy* grounded and when the shout of triumph arose from the Irish on both sides of the river, the hearts of the besieged died within them. One who endured the unutterable anguish of that moment has told us that they looked fearfully livid in each other's eyes. Even after the barricade had been passed there was a terrible half hour of suspense. It was ten o'clock before the ships arrived at the quay. The whole population was there to welcome them. A screen made of casks filled with earth was hastily thrown up to protect the landing-place from the batteries on the other side of the river, and then the work of unloading began. First were rolled on shore barrels containing six thousand bushels of meal. Then came great cheeses, casks of beef, flitches of bacon, kegs of butter, sacks of peas and biscuits, ankers of brandy. Not many hours before, half a pound of tallow and three-quarters of a pound of salted hide had been weighed out with niggardly care to every fighting man. The ration which each now received was three pounds of flour, two pounds of beef, and a pint of peas. It is easy to imagine with what tears grace was said over the suppers of that evening. There was little sleep on either side of the wall. The bonfires shone bright along the whole circuit of the ramparts. The Irish guns continued to roar all night, and all night the bells of the rescued city made answer to the Irish guns with a peal of joyous defiance. Through the whole of the next day the batteries of the enemy continued to play. But soon after the sun had again gone down, flames were seen rising from the camp, and when August 1 dawned, a line of smoking ruins marked the site lately occupied by the huts of the besiegers, and the citizens saw, far off, the long columns of pikes

and standards retreating up the left branch of the Foyle toward Strabane."

Of the 7000 fighting men of Derry, only 4300 survived, and the mortality among the non-combatants was still greater; probably 10,000 altogether perished during the siege, chiefly of hunger and disease. The Irish army, though not so badly off for food, suffered almost as much as the defenders from want of camping and sleeping accommodation, from exposure and hardship night and day, and from unwholesome food and sickness: while, on account of the deficient supply of arms and ammunition, more of them fell in the several conflicts than of their opponents—so that the mortality among them was almost as great as it was in the town.

The ancient walls of Derry are still perfect, though the town has extended far beyond them; some of the old guns are reverently preserved; and on the site of one of the bastions rises a lofty pillar surmounted by a statue of the Rev. George Walker.

Enniskillen, the other Williamite stronghold, was threatened by the approach of an Irish army; but the Enniskilleners, not waiting for a siege, marched forth on the day before the relief of Derry, and intercepted and utterly defeated them at Newtownbutler.

Sarsfield was not present at Derry; he commanded a detachment at Sligo, but on hearing of these disasters, he retired to Athlone; and now Ulster was nearly all in the hands of the Williamites.

Chapter XXV

THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE. 1690

THE siege of Derry was only the beginning of the struggle. King William had now leisure to look to Ireland, and he sent over the Duke of Schomberg—then above eighty years of age—who landed, in August, 1689, at Bangor, with an army of about 15,000 men. After a siege of eight days Carrickfergus Castle was surrendered to him, and he settled down for some time near Dundalk, in an unhealthful position, entrenching himself in a fortified camp, which soon became a vast hospital, where he lost fully half of his army by sickness.

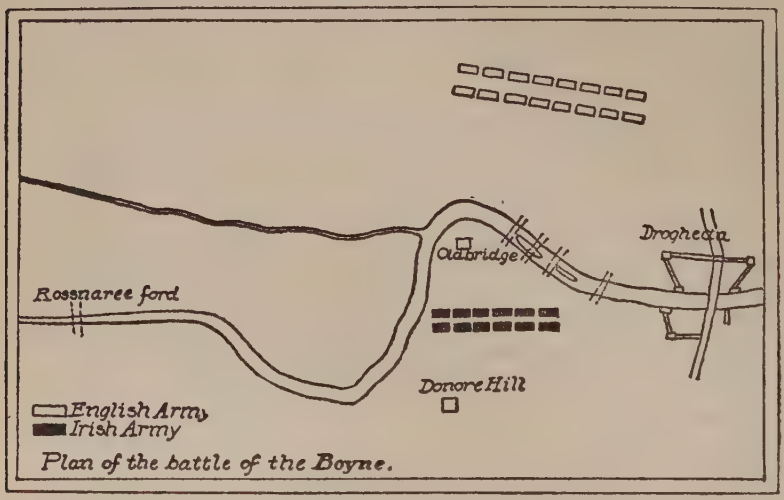
In the following year King William came over to conduct the campaign in person. He landed at Carrickfergus on June 14, 1690, and immediately joined Schomberg. About half of the united army were foreigners, excellent soldiers, a mixture of French, Dutch, Danes, Swedes, and Prussians or Brandenburghers.

James had advanced from Dublin to Dundalk, but fell back on the south bank of the Boyne, with his center at the village of Oldbridge, three miles above Drogheda, whither William followed and took up his position on the north bank. The two banks rise on both sides, forming low hills, on which were placed the camps, and the river flowed peacefully in the valley beneath. The Irish army, consisting of about 26,000 men, was largely composed of recruits, badly drilled and badly armed, having only twelve French field guns as their sole supply of artillery, with the crowning ill-fortune of being led by King James. They were opposed by a more numerous army—about 40,000 men—well trained and well supplied with all necessaries, including a fine artillery train of fifty field guns, and commanded by William, a man full of energy and determination, and one of the best generals of his time.

On the evening of June 30 William had a narrow escape, being shot in the shoulder, but later rode through the camp to assure the army of his safety. On the other hand, the conduct of James on this same evening—the evening before the battle—

was enough to damp the spirits of any army. He was flighty and undecided, and seemed anxious only for his own safety.

Early in the morning of July 1 William's army began to move: by his order each man wore a sprig of green in his cap, while the Jacobites wore little strips of white paper. "The day," says Story, the army chaplain, who was present, "was very clear, as if the sun itself had a mind to see what would happen." The river was low, for the tide was at ebb and the weather had been dry, and there were several fords so shallow as to be passable without much difficulty. The task to be accomplished was to force the



Plan of the battle of the Boyne.

passage of these fords in spite of the opposition of the Irish. Ten thousand men were sent to cross the river above the armies and attack the Irish in the rear so as to cut off their chance of retreat at the Pass of Duleek.

King William, having waited till an express messenger had come from Douglas to say he had succeeded in forcing a passage, issued his orders to cross the river at several fords, one near the village of Oldbridge, straight between the two opposing camps, and the others lower down toward Drogheda. The Blue Dutch guards and the French Huguenots led the crossing and gained the Irish side despite the spirited charge of the enemy.

It was at this point, just beside the village of Oldbridge, that old Duke Schomberg, rallying a body of Huguenots who had been

broken by the Irish and were rushing back toward the river, was killed by a musket bullet which struck him in the neck. His body was immediately carried across the river to the English camp. About the same time Walker of Derry was shot dead near the ford. While this struggle was going on, William crossed with some horse at the lowest ford, threatened the Irish right flank, and entered into a desperate conflict. There were continual charges, countercharges, advances, and retreats on both sides, and for a time the battle seemed doubtful. But no amount of bravery could compensate for the disadvantages under which the Irish fought that day, so that late in the evening they were forced to give way, and still fighting, they began their retreat.

King James, after issuing his orders in the morning, retired to the little church on the summit of the hill of Donore, from which he viewed the conflict in safety. He took no further part in the battle; and early in the evening, when he saw that the day was going against him, he fled in haste with a bodyguard of 200 horse, before the battle was over, leaving his men to take care of themselves, and reached Dublin a little after nine o'clock that same evening. The main body of the Irish army, making good the Pass of Duleek, in spite of the attempts of the Williamite generals to intercept them, retreated southward in good order to Dublin, and thence to Limerick. Drogheda, which was garrisoned by King James's troops, capitulated on honorable terms immediately after the battle.

Sarsfield was present at the Boyne, but he held a subordinate command, and was given no opportunity of taking any part in the battle; according to some he commanded the 200 horse that escorted James to Dublin. Conversing with a Williamite officer about the Boyne some time afterward, he exactly pictured the true state of things when he exclaimed: "Change kings with us and we will fight you over again!"

Having given the chief command to Tirconnell, James embarked at Kinsale and landed at Brest, the first bearer of the news of his own defeat. William arrived at Dublin and took possession of the city on Sunday, July 6. After this, Kilkenny, Duncannon, and Waterford surrendered in quick succession.

Chapter XXVI

THE SIEGE OF LIMERICK. 1690

CONCENTRATING their whole force at Limerick and Athlone, the Irish now determined to make the Shannon their line of defense, and to stand at bay in these two strongholds. On July 17, General Douglas, with 12,000 men, arrived before Athlone, which was the great important pass into Connaught. Colonel Richard Grace, the governor, successfully held it against Douglas for a week, when the latter withdrew at the news of Sarsfield's approach, and joined William, who was at this time leisurely making his way toward Limerick.

The king with the united army arrived before the walls on Saturday, August 9, a little more than a month after the battle of the Boyne. He was not yet quite prepared for effective siege operations, as the whole of his artillery had not come up; but a great siege train was on its way from Dublin, guarded by a convoy of two troops of horse, with heavy cannons, plenty of ammunition and provisions, tin boats or pontoons for crossing the river, and other necessary war materials.

While the citizens of Limerick were busily engaged preparing for defense, a French deserter from William's camp brought intelligence of the approach of the siege train, on which Sarsfield, who commanded the cavalry, instantly determined to intercept the train and convoy—an uncertain and perilous venture, requiring courage, coolness, and dash. Riding to a point fifteen miles above, he crossed at a very deep ford, guided by peasants. Here he remained in hiding a day.

When too late the king heard news of Sarsfield's enterprise, and sent out a party to protect the siege train. The latter was in fancied security, but Sarsfield approached, found out the password, and was in the center of the encampment before the English knew it; and a flight was the result.

Sarsfield could not bring away the guns or any other heavy

articles, knowing he was sure to be pursued, but the horses were captured, and all portable things were stowed away in pockets and saddle-bags. There was not a moment to lose, and while some of the party smashed up the tin boats, others hastily filled the cannons with powder and buried their muzzles in the earth, piling over them the powder packets, wagons, ammunition, and provisions, in a great heap. A long fuse was fired when the party had got to a safe distance, and the whole train was blown up in one terrific explosion. Sarsfield escaped from the party William sent out, and was received in Limerick, where the garrison was much encouraged.

On the English side it was correspondingly discouraging. "This news," says Story, the Williamite historian and army chaplain, who was present and has left an account of the siege, "was very unwelcome to everybody in the camp, the very private men shewing a greater concern at the loss than you would expect from such kinds of people." Notwithstanding the disaster of the siege train, the king, after a delay of about a week, pressed on the siege, for he had procured from Waterford two large guns and a mortar; and in the wreck at Ballyneety, two of the great cannons were found uninjured. This week's breathing spell was turned to good account by the citizens in pushing on the repair of their old defenses by every possible contrivance.

At this time Limerick was the second city in Ireland. The principal part, called the English town, stood upon the King's Island, which is enclosed by two branches of the Shannon, and is about a mile in length. Here was the old cathedral, the dwellings of the nobility and gentry, and the principal buildings and houses of business. On the mainland, at the County Limerick, or south side, was another and smaller part of the city, called the Irish town. The English town was connected by stone bridges with both sides of the river.

The place was so badly prepared for a siege that the French general Lauzun laughed at the idea of defending it, saying that "it could be taken with roasted apples." He refused, as he said, to sacrifice the lives of the Frenchmen intrusted to him in what he considered, or pretended to consider, a hopeless contest. But in truth he was sick of this Irish war, with all its hardships and privations, and he longed to get back to France. The Duke of Tirconnell, who was old and sickly and weary of turmoil, voted with him to surrender the city. But Sarsfield was of a different mind: he

was for defense, and he was heartily seconded by a brave French captain named Boisseleau or Boileau. They infused their spirit into the native troops, and it was resolved at all hazards to defend the city; whereupon Lauzun and Tirconnell marched to Galway with all the French troops, bringing away a great quantity of ammunition sorely needed by the citizens. And thus the two chief men entrusted with the guardianship of Limerick deserted their posts, leaving the Irish to defend it as best they could. Boileau, having been appointed governor, set about repairing and strengthening the old walls, towers, and forts. The citizens vied with the soldiers, and even the women and children assisted with the greatest spirit and cheerfulness.

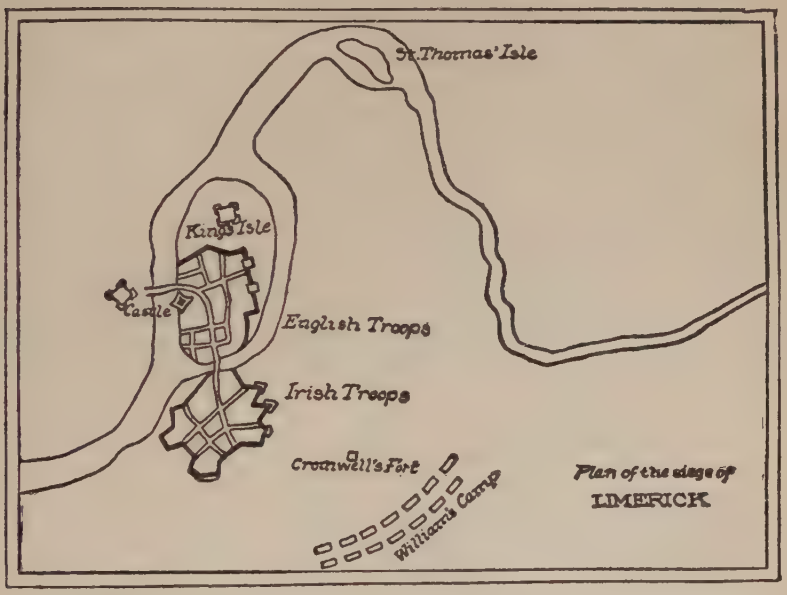
William was attended by Ginkle, Douglas, and others of his best generals, and had an effective army of about 26,000 men, well supplied with arms and ammunition, while the Irish army of defense numbered about 25,000, scarcely half of them armed. The siege began on August 9, 1690. A summons to surrender was answered by a determined reply to defend the city. The withdrawal of the French, and the feeble defenses, seemed to indicate that a serious resistance would not be encountered. On August 17 the Williamite men began to dig trenches to enable them to get near the walls, while the Irish, on their part, did everything in their power to retard the work.

As soon as the artillery had been got into position, the heavy guns began to play; and in a short time the high towers on the walls were leveled, which freed those working in the trenches from the sharpshooters. After this the fire was mainly concentrated on a particular part of the wall near St. John's Gate, with the object of making a breach; while shells, red-hot shot, and a sort of destructive explosive called carcasses, which ran along the streets blazing and spitting out fragments of iron and glass, were poured in among the houses without intermission, so that the city was set on fire in several places, and a great store of hay was burned to ashes. "I remember," says Story, "we were all as well pleased to see the town flaming as could be, which made me reflect upon our profession of soldiery not to be overcharged with good nature." Many soldiers and citizens were killed by the showers of missiles; but with danger and death all round them from balls and carcasses and fires, the spirits of the people never flagged, and neither soldier nor citizen called for surrender. Great numbers of women and children were

sent for safety to the King's Island and to the Clare side of the river, where they encamped in such shelters as they were able to put up.

The defenders had a strong fort outside the wall, opposite St. John's Gate, from which they so harassed the besiegers that it was determined at all hazards to attempt its capture. A large party advanced to the attack, and after an obstinate hand-to-hand fight of several hours, the Irish were forced to retire and the English took possession; but both sides lost heavily in this prolonged encounter.

During the whole time the king directed the siege operations, often exposing himself to great danger with the utmost coolness,



and having one or two narrow escapes. While the king worked with tireless energy on the outside, Sarsfield and Boileau were equally watchful and active in the city directing the defense. But despite woolsacks, sallies, and resistance of every kind, a great breach thirty-six feet wide was made near St. John's Gate after ten days' incessant battering, and through this it was determined to make an assault and storm the city.

At half-past three in the afternoon of August 27, under a blazing sun and cloudless sky, a storming party of over 500 grenadiers, supported in the rear by 10,000 men, consisting of seven

regiments of foot and a large body of horse, leaped up from the trenches at a signal of three guns fired from Cromwell's Fort, and made a rush for the breach, throwing their hand-grenades and firing their muskets among the defenders. "This," says Story, "gave the Alarm to the Irish, who had their Guns all ready and discharged great and small Shot upon us as fast as 'twas possible: Our men were not behind them in either: so that in less than two Minutes the Noise was so terrible, that one would have thought the very Skies to rent in sunder. This was seconded with Dust, Smoke, and all the terrors that the Art of Man could invent to ruin and undo one another; and to make it more uneasie, the day itself was excessive hot to the By-standers, and much more sure in all respects to those upon action."

The storming party succeeded in crossing the trench outside the broken wall; and after a desperate hand-to-hand conflict drove the Irish before them, only to encounter a second rampart Boileau had thrown up. The terrible fire of cartridge shots and bullets from cannon and muskets caused them to waver, but the continued reinforcements from behind pushed them on.

Then the citizens, even the women, when they became aware that the assailants were prevailing, rushed down in multitudes by common impulse from their view places, and seizing every weapon they could lay their hands on, dashed into the midst of the uproar and joined eagerly in the fray.

For four hours in the hot afternoon this dreadful conflict raged. The thickly-packed masses advanced and yielded in turn through the streets; a close and furious struggle, where all strained their utmost to force back the opposing ranks, and no one thought of personal danger. The rattle of small arms and the roar of cannon never ceased for an instant, and a cloud of smoke and dust that veiled the sunlight rose slowly over the city, and was wafted along by the gentle autumn breeze, till it disappeared behind a range of hills six or eight miles off.

At last the assailants, unable to withstand the tremendous and unexpected resistance, yielded, and turning round, rushed back through the breach in headlong confusion, and in a few moments the old city was cleared of every foreign soldier except the killed and wounded. King William, having witnessed the repulse of his best troops, "Went to his Camp very much concerned," says Story, "as indeed was the whole army, for you might have seen a mixture

of Anger and Sorrow in everybody's countenance." Over 2000 of his men were killed, while the loss of the Irish was comparatively small. It was a matter of consideration whether another attempt should be made; but as the rainy season was coming on, which was sure to bring disease among his troops, the king thought it more prudent to raise the siege. He returned to England, leaving General Ginkle in command: and on August 31 the army marched away from the city. The siege had lasted three weeks; and the heroic defenders of Limerick had, almost without ammunition, and with crumbling old walls for a defense, repulsed a well-equipped veteran army, directed by a great general celebrated all over Europe, who had never before been foiled by any fortress, however strong.

Lauzun and Tirconnell, who were at this time in Galway, were no doubt ill-pleased to hear of the successful defense of Limerick, which they had deserted in its worst time of need, and fearing the displeasure of King Louis, they both embarked for France in order to have the first story.

In September, 1690, Cork surrendered, after a fierce struggle, to the skillful generalship of John Churchill, afterward the celebrated Duke of Marlborough, and Kinsale followed. The capture of these two important places, which more than counterbalanced the successful defense of Limerick, ended the campaign of 1690.

Chapter XXVII

ATHLONE AND AUGHRIM. 1691

NO military events of importance took place in Ireland for about ten months after the siege of Limerick, except the capture of Cork and Kinsale. But the war was carried on without intermission all over the country, from Cavan southward, by detached parties of Williamite forces, who were resisted everywhere, with varying success, partly by detachments of Irish regular troops, and partly by bands of rapparees, a sort of irregular volunteers who were looked upon as mere robbers by the English captains and were hanged whenever caught. So long as the two armies had been kept together in large bodies, the men were under the usual discipline, outrage was repressed, and the ordinary laws of warfare were fairly observed. But when they were broken up into roving bands, discipline was all but abandoned, and they committed cruel outrages everywhere on the people. The account left us by the Williamite chaplain, Story, of the mode of warfare, of the numerous conflicts and daily executions by the Williamite captains, and of the general state of the country, is a fearful record of bloodshed and misery.

Tirconnell, who had sailed from Galway to France after the siege of Limerick, as already related, returned with some money and stores in January, 1691, and as he was King James's lord lieutenant, he resumed authority. In May a French fleet sailed up the Shannon, with provisions, clothing, and military stores, but no men or money, bringing Lieutenant General St. Ruth, a brave and experienced French officer, but cruel, haughty, and excessively conceited, to take command of the Irish army, by direction of King James, who was at this time in France. The choice was unfortunate; Sarsfield would have done better, but the Irish served loyally nevertheless.

After the failure at Limerick, the next attempt was to be made on Athlone, which was almost equally important, and on June 19 Ginkle appeared before it with an army of 18,000 men. The main

body of the Irish was encamped at the Connaught side, about a mile west of the town. They were commanded, for the time being, by Sarsfield, for St. Ruth, the commander-in-chief, had not yet arrived, but Sarsfield could not undertake any important movement in his absence.

Athlone was built on both sides the Shannon, and Ginkle soon took possession of the English town. On the evening of that day St. Ruth arrived in the camp and took measures to defend the Irish town, but the English soon battered to pieces the earthworks and part of the castle. When an attempt was made to cross the Shannon some distance from the town, it was successfully resisted by the Irish, so nothing remained but to force the passage of the bridge. Soon by mere pressure of numbers the besiegers obtained possession of the greater part of the bridge, though not till very many of them had been killed, whereupon the defenders abandoned it, but broke down one arch at the Connaught side.

To cross that broken arch was now Ginkle's task. His cannon having been turned on the farther bank, so that as one of the spectators, Colonel Felix O'Neill of the Irish army, tells us, "a cat could scarce appear without being knocked on the head by great or small shot," a party, under cover of a rude wooden shelter, dragged a number of planks along the bridge, and succeeded in throwing them across the chasm; and Ginkle's men were preparing to step forward on the perilous journey. Twice did volunteer parties of Irish try to pull down the planks, and the second time they succeeded. Ginkle, after several attempts, gave up all idea of forcing his way across the bridge.

Before giving up the siege he was finally prevailed upon to try another plan, and volunteers were told off to cross the river at a seemingly impossible ford. St. Ruth scoffed at the idea that the river could be crossed there, and rested in fancied security. The soldiers plunged into the deep and rapid river twenty abreast, and with great resolution made their way across through fire and smoke, and landing with hardly any opposition, some of them laid planks over the bridge, while others fixed some boats that had been kept ready, so as to form another complete bridge across. The small party of Irish had been taken quite by surprise, and in less than half an hour Ginkle was master of the town. Thus Athlone was captured almost within sight of the whole Irish army, when a little care and vigilance would have rendered the passage of the

river impossible, and the heroism of the noble fellows who had sacrificed their lives to tear down the planks went for nothing.

The Irish officers bitterly reproached St. Ruth for the loss of Athlone, so that with good reason he became alarmed, and fearing the displeasure of his master King Louis, he now resolved to stake all on the result of a single battle. Falling back on the village of Aughrim in Galway, he determined to make a stand there, and with great judgment he selected an excellent position beside the village, with a sluggish stream and a morass in the low ground in front, which was impassable for horse, but might be crossed by foot. At both ends were two narrow passes through the bog, both well guarded. The slope of the hill in front, down to the morass, was intersected by fences, which were all lined by Irish marksmen.

The battle was not begun until near midday, as the morning had been foggy. Ginkle tried first to force the pass of Uraghree, but was severely repulsed, and was about to withdraw until the next day, when, observing what he believed to be some disorderly movements on the Irish side, he resolved to renew the attempt. A more numerous body was now sent to Uraghree with the object of drawing St. Ruth's forces from the pass at Aughrim, and at half-past four the battle began afresh.

The plan succeeded, for large bodies of Irish were withdrawn from the Aughrim Pass to help to defend Uraghree; but when Ginkle attempted to advance across the stream and bog, he was again and again driven back. St. Ruth was elated at the seeming victory, but his death soon changed the whole fortunes of the day. No one knew what orders to give, for St. Ruth had let none of his officers into his confidence. Sarsfield had been placed in a subordinate position with directions not to move the reserves. As a result the Irish were forced to give way, and many were massacred. In proportion to the numbers engaged, this was the most destructive battle in the whole war.

Galway submitted on July 21, and Sligo in September, both on favorable terms, their garrisons being allowed to march to Limerick.

Chapter XXVIII

SECOND SIEGE AND TREATY OF LIMERICK. 1691-1693

GENERAL GINKLE, after his victory at Aughrim, marched southward for another attempt on Limerick. Tirconnell proceeded to put the city in a state of defense, but he died of apoplexy on August 14, on which the chief command devolved on Sarsfield. On August 30, 1691, just a year after the memorable defense, the second siege began. Ginkle's first operation was a bombardment with sixty cannon and nineteen mortars, from which were poured bombshells, red-hot balls, and carcasses, which caused much destruction.

On September 22 Ginkle made an attack on the bridge and drove the Irish back. There was now a short truce, and negotiations were set on foot for capitulation. Both sides were anxious to end the war. Ginkle saw no prospect of being able to take the city in reasonable time. To capture it at once by storm he considered impracticable—having probably the experience of last year in his mind, and he was in great distress for provisions, so that if there was any further delay, he must, as he said in one of his letters, either starve or begone. The cold and rainy season was sure to bring pestilence among the troops; at the same time it was rumored that aid was coming from France. The arrival of the French might prolong the struggle indefinitely, the consequence of which no man could foresee, for William and his government were at this time in a very unsettled position. For all these weighty reasons, Ginkle was very anxious to end the war, and willing to grant any reasonable terms as the price of surrender.

Sarsfield, on his part, saw no hope in further unaided resistance, and decided to treat with "arms in his hands." Accordingly, on October 3 a treaty of peace was signed by Ginkle and the English lords justices on the one hand, and on the other by Sarsfield, now Earl of Lucan, and by others; and it was confirmed by King William a short time afterward. This ended the War

of the Revolution, and William and Mary were acknowledged sovereigns of Ireland. A few days afterward a French fleet sailed up the Shannon: 18 ships of the line and 20 transports, with 3000 soldiers, 200 officers, and arms and ammunition for 10,000 men; but Sarsfield refused to receive them, and honorably stood by the treaty.

The Treaty of Limerick consisted of two parts, one civil, the other military; containing altogether forty-two articles. The military articles were faithfully kept, but the civil part was violated by the government, although King William was not to blame.

The most important of the civil articles were these: The Irish Catholics were to have the same religious liberty as was consistent with the existing law of the land, or as they enjoyed in the reign of Charles II. (which was the one period since the Reformation when they had most liberty): and "the oath to be administered to such Catholicks as submit to Their Majesties Government, shall be the Oath [of Allegiance] afore-said, and no other" (ninth article). Those in arms for King James to retain the estates they possessed in the time of Charles II., and to be permitted to freely exercise their callings and professions.

The principal military articles were: The garrison to be permitted to march out of the city with arms and baggage, drums beating and colors flying. Those officers and soldiers who wished might go to any foreign country, the government to provide them with ships; those who chose might join the army of William and Mary. Ginkle was anxious to keep these soldiers in the king's army, but only 1000 joined, and 2000 got passes for their homes. More than 20,000 sad exiles—among them Sarsfield—went to Brest and entered the French service. These formed the nucleus of the famous Irish Brigade, who afterward distinguished themselves on many a battlefield—Fontenoy, Ramillies, Blenheim, Landen, and others—always led by Irish officers, voluntary exiles like themselves. Sarsfield, after brilliant service, fell mortally wounded, in the moment of victory, at the battle of Landen in 1693, where he commanded the left wing of the French army. It is stated that while lying on the ground, seeing his hand stained with his own blood, he exclaimed, "Oh, that this was for Ireland!" There was at this time and for long after, a vast exodus of the very flower of the Irish people to the Continent. Between 1691 and 1745 it is reckoned that 450,000 Irishmen died in the service of France; and

many, who if they had remained at home would have lived in obscurity and degradation, attained positions of influence and power in every country on the Continent. The war had cost the English about seven millions, representing probably fifty millions pounds to-day, besides vast destruction of houses, cattle, and other kinds of property.

King William was kindly disposed toward the Irish, and taking advantage of the treaty, he restored a good part of their estates, and granted many pardons. But he rewarded his followers with vast tracts of land. He created Ginkle Earl of Athlone, and gave him 26,000 acres; and to others he gave much larger estates. Altogether he made seventy-six land grants to his own people.

Lord Sydney, the lord lieutenant, summoned a parliament, which met in Dublin on October 5, 1692, a year after the conclusion of the war: the first held since 1665, with the exception of that of King James. It was exclusively Protestant, for the good reason that almost the first thing done was to frame an oath, to be taken by all members of both houses, that the chief doctrines of the Catholic Church were false, though the ninth article of the treaty had, just a year before, provided that the Catholics were to be required to take only the oath of allegiance. Sydney, as representing the king, opposed the measure, but it was carried in spite of him, whereupon all the Catholics present in both houses walked out.

In the course of its proceedings this parliament declared that it was independent of that of England; and though granting a supply of money to the king, it rejected a money bill sent from England, on the ground that it had not been originated in the Irish Commons. This may be regarded as the beginning of the long contest between the English and Irish Parliaments, to be related in subsequent chapters. Sydney was so indignant at this refractory proceeding that he twice prorogued this Parliament, which was finally dissolved on November 5, 1693.

There was now another confiscation, as will be further related in the next chapter. In less than a century there had been three great confiscations in Ireland, the old proprietors being in all cases dispossessed: the first after the Geraldine and O'Neill rebellions; the second in the time of Cromwell, and the third after the conquest by King William. These three comprised the whole island, except

the estates of about half a dozen families of English blood. Moreover, the three confiscations sometimes overlapped; so that large portions were confiscated twice, and some three times over, within that period. As the result of all, only about a seventh of the land of all Ireland was left in the hands of the Catholics. The Catholics of old English blood were involved in this general ruin, so far as their numbers went, as well as those of the native Celtic race.

Chapter XXIX

THE PENAL LAWS. 1695-1714

BEFORE resuming our regular narrative it is necessary that we here turn aside to describe the penal and repressive legislation that followed the capitulation of Limerick, which will be done in this chapter and the next.

The Irish Catholics were now crushed and dispirited; they were quite helpless, for their best men had gone to France, and all hope of resistance was at an end. Yet the Treaty of Limerick remained, and they had the consolation of feeling that in that agreement they had secured tolerable conditions. But here they were doomed to a woeful disappointment. The Irish Parliament, with the full concurrence of the English authorities, refused to carry out the treaty in its most important parts; though, as we have seen, it was purchased by most valuable concessions on the part of the Irish commanders, and had been solemnly guaranteed, first by Ginkle and the Irish lords justices, and next by King William himself. "Since the Irish," says Story, "had it still in their power [before the treaty was made] to give us the Town or to keep it to themselves, I see no Reason why they ought not to make a Bargain for it, and expect the performance of their Contract, which Their Majesties have been graciously pleased to ratifie under the Great Seal of England." We may fairly conjecture that when Story (who, it will be remembered, was one of King William's chaplains) wrote these remarkable words in 1691, he had some suspicions and fears that the treaty would not be kept and that he wrote them in a generous spirit to advocate its faithful fulfillment.

The violation of the treaty greatly displeased King William, who would have honorably kept to his part of the agreement, as Sarsfield did on his side when he refused to admit the French fleet. For William was not disposed to oppress anyone on account of religion; and he was often heard to declare that he came over to deliver the Protestants, but not to persecute the Catholics. It does not appear, indeed, that he ever redeemed his pledge, made in the first article of the treaty to try to procure further religious se-

curity for the Catholics; but, no doubt, he thought it would be useless—as it certainly would have been—to attempt to move either the Irish or the English Parliament in that direction.

After the conclusion of the War of the Revolution the government of Ireland was completely in the hands of the small Protestant minority, who also possessed almost the whole of the land of the country, and they held nearly all the offices of trust and emolument. And now not only did they refuse to carry out the treaty, but they went much farther by passing a number of penal laws, which, so long as they remained in force, would keep down the Catholics, who formed four-fifths of the population, and would secure for the Protestant minority the great possessions and privileges they already enjoyed.

Before 1695 there were many penal enactments against Irish Catholics, with the main object of compelling them to abandon their own religion and to adopt the doctrines and forms of worship of the Reformation; but they were passed only at long intervals, and the authorities, for various reasons, were not always anxious, or were not able, to have them carried out. But after that date they came in quick succession, growing more and more severe as time went on, till they reached their worst phases chiefly in the first years of the reign of Queen Anne, and partly in the reign of George II.; and they were generally enforced, so far as lay in the power of the authorities. These repressive laws were mostly the work of the Irish Parliament, but the English Parliament sometimes stepped in and lent its aid. The code remained in full force for about three-quarters of a century, when it began to be relaxed, though by very small degrees at first. Gradually, and very slowly, the worst of the enactments were repealed, one by one, as will be noticed in the proper places as we go along, till, with the exception of some particulars, the Emancipation Act of 1829 put an end to the disabilities of Irish Catholics. It will be convenient to bring the leading enactments of the whole Penal Code into this chapter, though it will oblige us to run a little in advance in point of time.

The Parliament of 1692, as related in the last chapter, led the way by framing an oath to exclude Catholics from Parliament, contrary to the ninth article of the treaty. But the really active penal legislation was entered upon by the Parliament which met in Dublin in 1695. Their first proceeding was to introduce a bill "for the confirmation of Articles made at the Treaty of Limerick,"

and thereupon they confirmed all the minor provisions of the treaty and omitted all the important ones. This bill passed easily through the House of Commons, but it was vigorously resisted in the upper House by a powerful minority of Irish lords—all Protestants, be it remembered—who vehemently condemned such breach of faith. And when, in spite of opposition, the bill was at length passed, a number of them, including seven Protestant bishops, signed a strong protest against it. Having thus secured what amounted to the rejection of the treaty, this Parliament, during the sessions of 1695 and 1697, passed a number of penal laws, of which the following are the most important:

Catholic schoolmasters were forbidden to teach, either in schools or in private houses, and Catholic parents were forbidden to send their children to any foreign country to be educated, from which it will be seen that care was taken to deprive Catholics —as such—altogether of the means of education.

Although the treaty secured to the Catholic gentry of certain specified counties the possession of their estates, the Parliament dispossessed them all, and seized their lands, which they gave to others.

Catholics were to deliver up their arms, and if a magistrate suspected that there were any in the house of a Catholic, he might make a search, and if refused admission, might break open the door. If a Catholic had a valuable horse, any Protestant might take possession of it by offering 5*l.*—which answers to about 30*l.* of our present money.

The existing parish priests were not to be disturbed; but all had to be registered in a government book, and had to give security for good behavior. About a thousand were registered; and these were allowed to celebrate Mass, but they could keep no curates. It was ordained that all other Catholic clergy—bishops, Jesuits, friars, monks, and the regular clergy of every order—should, under penalties, quit the kingdom by May 1, 1698, and any who returned were adjudged guilty of high treason, of which the punishment was death. This would, of course, after some time, leave the people altogether without priests, for according as the existing clergy died out there would be none to take their places, since a priest could not be ordained without a bishop. Several hundreds of those against whom the decree was directed left the country, but many remained, including some bishops, who disguised and concealed themselves as

best they could. It was ordered that no Catholic chapel should have either steeple or bells. There were many other stringent measures passed by this Parliament, which it would be tedious to enumerate.

This was the first installment of the Penal Code; but it was followed by much worse. When, a few years later, the Duke of Ormond (grandson of Ormond of the Confederate times) came over as lord lieutenant, the House of Commons petitioned him for a further extension of the penal legislation, though the reason why is hard to make out, for the Catholic people had been quiet and submissive, and had given no provocation whatever. Yet Ormond consented, and in 1704 an act was passed, of which the following were the most important provisions. If the eldest son of a Roman Catholic with landed property declared himself a Protestant, he became the owner of all his father's land, and the father sank to the position of life-tenant; and if any other child, no matter how young, professed that he was a Protestant, he was placed under a Protestant guardian, and the father had to pay all the expenses of separate maintenance and education. One very bad feature of these provisions was that they encouraged baseness, by tempting children to the unnatural course of turning against their own parents for the sake of mere gain. If the wife of a Catholic became a Protestant, she could claim separate support from his estate, and one-third of all his other property. No Catholic could be a guardian to a child, so that when a father who had young children felt himself dying, his last hours were troubled by the consciousness that his children were likely to be brought up Protestants.

No Catholic was permitted to purchase land, or even to take a lease of land for life (which was called a freehold lease), or for longer than thirty-one years; and if land descended to a Catholic as heir to some former owner, or if land was left to him by will, in neither case could he accept it. The profit of a Catholic's farm, over and above the rent, was never to exceed one-third of that rent; and if any Protestant proved that the profit realized was more than that, he could take possession of the farm. The intention of all these provisions was to make it impossible for Catholics ever again to own any part of the land of the country.

No person could vote at an election for a member of Parliament without taking an oath that the Catholic religion was false. A Catholic could not hold any office either in the civil or military service without taking the same oath and submitting to the " Sac-

ramental Test," that is, receiving the Sacrament on Sundays in some Protestant place of worship, according to the rite of the Established Church. This last item of the Code is what is called the Test Act, and it applied to the Presbyterians and other Non-conformists as well as to the Catholics, for they have special rites of their own.

Later on—in the first year of the reign of George II.—the Catholics were wholly disfranchised, that is, they were forbidden to vote at an election under any circumstances whatever. No Catholic was to be permitted to come to live in the cities of Limerick or Galway, but those who were residing in them at the time were allowed to remain, provided they gave security for good behavior, but this law soon became a dead letter, for it was found impossible to have it carried out.

Rewards were offered for the discovery of bishops, Jesuits, unregistered priests, and schoolmasters, and whenever such a reward was earned, the Catholics had to pay it. Very determined measures were taken, moreover, to have this law enforced. In the last year of Queen Anne's reign (1714), the English Parliament extended to Ireland the Schism Act, which ordained that no person could teach a school unless he had a license from the Protestant bishop, and this license could not be granted unless the applicant submitted to the Sacramental Test.

In the foregoing sketch, only the main provisions of the Penal Code have been enumerated.

These laws were mainly intended to suppress the Catholic religion. But they had no effect whatever in making the people conform, as is shown by the fact that, twenty years later, we find the Irish Parliament complaining of the continued increase of Catholicity, and proposing other measures for its suppression of so violent a character that the English authorities refused to sanction them.

The Catholics were not the only people who suffered under this legislation. In a very little time the "Test Act" and the "Schism Act" were brought to bear against the Ulster Presbyterians, who were now subjected to bitter persecution, for they refused either to apply to the bishop for licenses to teach in schools, or to receive the Sacrament according to the English rite. They were expelled from Belfast and Derry, they were dismissed from the magistracy, prohibited from teaching school, their marriages

were declared void, and the Regium Donum, an annual grant given by King William to their clergy, was stopped for the time. But they bore it all with steady resolution rather than violate their principles. Many, however, took another course. It will be related in the next chapter how the ruin of the wool trade, in 1698, drove numbers of Presbyterians to emigrate to New England: and as the distress continued, so also did the emigration. But it was greatly increased by these religious hardships, and now the Presbyterians went off in large numbers. This alarmed the government, as it increased the relative proportion of Catholics; yet they obstinately retained these two acts, though earnestly recommended to repeal them by successive lords lieutenants, and so the exodus continued. For a long period, about the middle of the century, it is calculated that 12,000 emigrated every year from Ulster. The sufferings of the Presbyterians, however, though bitter for the time, were trifling and brief compared with those of the Catholics.

It would be unjust to view these laws as if they stood alone. In many parts of Europe at the time there were stringent penal laws: of Protestants against Catholics in some countries, of Catholics against Protestants in others—a fact that must be carefully borne in mind in reviewing this legislation. But in at least two respects the Irish laws contrasted unfavorably with other penal codes. In all other countries it was the great majority persecuting a small sect, to force them into religious compliance with the general body; in Ireland alone was the attempt made by a small minority to suppress the religion of the whole nation among whom they lived. But perhaps the worst feature of the Irish enactments was that they were made in open breach of public faith.

To us, looking back at those evil times from a distance of nearly two centuries, the picture is not wholly black. There are spots brightened by humanity, which, when well considered, should stir up feelings of mutual kindliness among the people of the present day. It will be good to point out a few of these relieving features.

It was the governing classes that made those terrible penal laws; the general body of the Protestant people, whether in England or Ireland, had no hand in them. And when the laws came into operation, a large proportion of Irish Protestants, all through the country, looked upon them with silent disapproval, and did a great deal in a quiet way to protect their Catholic neighbors; just as

many Catholics—both clergy and laymen—in 1641, and subsequently in 1798, saved their Protestant friends from the fury of the mob. This was especially the case where property was concerned. A Catholic gentleman, when in danger of losing his land through some one of the means provided by law, told his story to his Protestant neighbor, who on the spot purchased the estate, or rather pretended to purchase it, drawing out a regular agreement and taking over the title deeds, but paying no purchase money. He was now the owner according to law, and received the rents, but secretly handed them over to his Catholic friend as they came in; and this continued generally during the lives of the two, and often during the lives of their children and grandchildren, till the repeal of the statute enabled land and deeds to be restored to the owners. Cases such as this were quite common all over the country; and among the Protestant gentry it was considered a special point of honor to keep and restore the property undiminished, faithfully, and without fee or reward. Many a Catholic gentleman holds his estate at this day through the kind feeling of the ancestors of his present Protestant neighbors.

So also it often happened that a dying Catholic, with young children, sent for his Protestant friend and complied outwardly with the law by leaving them to his guardianship, with the secret understanding that they should be educated by some Catholic selected by the family, and there is good reason to believe that guardians thus appointed were generally faithful to their trust, often at great risk to themselves. The enactment about the horse of more than 5*l.* value was taken advantage of only in a very few cases; and Catholic gentlemen continued to hunt and race and drive equipages with valuable horses, among the Protestant gentry, without any molestation during the whole time the law remained in force.

While many magistrates were active in seeing the law carried out, there were others more under the influence of good feeling. One of these, suppose, received information that some banned priest or schoolmaster was hiding in the neighborhood; but he intentionally delayed, or went to the wrong spot, or met with some trifling accident, or sent word secretly, and at last arrived at the hiding place, looking very wicked, only to find the culprit gone.

In other ways the operation of these cruel laws was mitigated, and it often turned out that matters were not quite so bad with

Catholics as the lawmakers intended. Evasions were very often winked at, even where well known. Catholic bishops remained all through in the country in spite of every effort to discover them, living in huts in remote places under various disguises, and meeting their congregations by night in wild glens and bogs. Young priests who had been educated abroad managed to return, and took up their duties, though not registered. But such breaches and evasions were always very dangerous, and might at any moment end in detection and punishment. Then as to education. Many priests kept schoolmasters, who taught in sheds put up in remote glens, or they instructed individual scholars, in a scrappy kind of way, in fields or lanes, which, however, was only a flickering sort of education that could not reach the general mass of the people.

In one very important particular the Penal Code failed to reach the Catholics. Though they were shut out from the ownership of land, and from the professions, many branches of business lay open to them, so that numbers of Catholics prospered in trade, and became rich, with no power to hinder them, especially in large towns and seaports.

Along with all this, it is well known that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, though the worst of the penal statutes remained in force, many of them were quietly suffered to fall into disuse, so that Catholics began to bestir themselves a little, and to hope for better times. In some parts of the country too there was such an overwhelming preponderance of Catholics that even in the worst of the penal times it was impossible to have the laws enforced.

But making every allowance for kindliness, protection, evasion, and non-enforcement of the law, the Catholic people underwent terrible sufferings for three or four generations, and no one who has not read the detailed history of those times can have any idea of the sort of life they led. Though the Penal Code quite failed to make them Protestants, it succeeded perfectly in crushing, impoverishing, and degrading them. Deprived of the means of education and advancement, the great body sank in the end into such a state of listless ignorance and poverty, and became so downtrodden and oppressed with a sense of inferiority, that after their disabilities had been removed and the way had been cleared for them, it took them many generations more to recover anything like the position of independence, self-respect, and influence they had enjoyed before the penal times.

Chapter XXX

TRADE REPRESSION. 1663-1800

THE penal laws described in the last chapter applied mainly to Catholics, but the repressive code now about to be described oppressed Irishmen of all creeds.

Ireland has a good climate, a fertile soil, and a fair supply of minerals; and toward the end of the seventeenth century, in spite of wars and other troubles, several branches of manufacture, trade, and commerce were flourishing. But the traders and merchants of England fancied that the prosperity of Ireland was a loss to them, by drawing away custom; and in their shortsighted and selfish jealousy, they persuaded the English Parliament—which, indeed, needed little persuasion—to ruin almost the whole trade of Ireland. As in the case of the penal enactments touching religion, it will be convenient to bring all the main provisions of this Code into one chapter.

This legislation was generally the work of the English Parliament alone; but sometimes the Irish Parliament followed in the same direction, and, in obedience to orders, passed acts impoverishing their own country. It must be borne in mind that religion had nothing to do with these proceedings, which are all the more to be wondered at, seeing that the blow fell chiefly on Irish Protestants; for at this time the general body of the Catholics were barely able to live, and could do very little as a body in the way of industries. But the English traders cared nothing for all this; they wanted to destroy Irish trade for their own gain, and whether the ruin fell on Protestants, Presbyterians, or Catholics, was a matter of indifference to them.

Down to 1663 Irish merchants had been in the habit of exporting goods of various kinds to different foreign countries, especially to the British colonies all over the world; and as Ireland is a good grazing country, a flourishing trade was also carried on by the export of Irish cattle to England. Now, an end was put to all this; for several acts were passed in the English Parliament

from 1663 to 1680 prohibiting Irish merchants from exporting or importing any goods to or from the colonies; and the export of cattle, sheep, pigs, beef, pork, mutton, butter, and cheese, to England, was altogether stopped. Thus the chief Irish industry was destroyed, and the people, being unable to find a market for the produce of their farms, fell at once into poverty.

Yet the Irish did not despair. Driven from cattle-raising, they applied themselves to other industries, especially that of wool, for which the country is well suited. In those times Irish wool was considered the best in Europe; and, notwithstanding the measures of Wentworth to cripple this trade, it began to flourish again, and was rapidly rising to be a great national industry, which was carried on almost exclusively by the Protestant colonists. But this, too, was doomed. The English cloth dealers, taking the alarm, petitioned in 1698 to have it suppressed, and King William, in the speech from the throne, promised to discourage the Irish wool trade, to encourage the Irish linen trade, and to promote the trade of England.

It is worthy of remark that in their petitions and addresses, the English never made the least secret of what they wanted, namely, to destroy Irish trade for their own benefit. When the traders sent forward their petition about wool in 1698, the English House of Lords, in a petition to the king, said: "The growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland, both by the cheapness of all sorts of necessaries of life, and goodness of materials for making all manner of cloth, . . . makes your loyal subjects in this kingdom very apprehensive that the further growth of it may greatly prejudice the said manufacture here." And, in the same year, the people of Aldborough and Folkstone petitioned that the inhabitants of the eastern coast of Ireland should be stopped from fishing and selling their fish, because of the injury done "by the Irish catching herrings at Waterford and Wexford and sending them to the Straits, and thereby forestalling and ruining petitioners' markets." And other such instances might be cited.

The upshot of the agitation against the wool trade was that, in 1699, the servile Irish Parliament, acting on directions from the other side, put an export duty of four shillings per pound on fine woolen cloths, and two shillings per pound on frieze and flannel, knowing well that this was sure to ruin their Protestant fellow-countrymen. The English Parliament followed up this measure

JONATHAN SWIFT, THE DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN
(Born 1667. Died 1745)
Painting in the Bodleian Library, Oxford

by passing an act prohibiting the Irish from exporting either wool or woolen goods to any part of the world except a few specified seaport towns in England, and it was forbidden to ship woolens even to these except from Dublin, Cork, and four other Irish seaports.

These acts accomplished all that the English merchants looked for: they ruined the Irish wool trade. The heavy duty the Irish wool merchants had to pay obliged them to put such a price on their goods that they found it impossible to sell them in England; so the trade was stopped altogether, just as the law-makers intended. The woolen mills ceased to work, the work-people were turned idle, and the buildings went to ruin. Forty thousand Irish Protestants—all prosperous working people—were immediately reduced to idleness and poverty by it; the Catholics, of course, sharing in the misery so far as they were employed; and 20,000 Presbyterians and other Non-conformists left Ireland for America. Then began the emigration, from want of employment, that continues to this day. But the English Parliament professed to encourage the Irish linen trade, for this could do no harm to English traders, as flax-growing and linen manufacture had not taken much hold in England.

As almost always happens when plenty of a commodity can be produced, on which there are prohibitive duties—that is, duties so heavy that it is impossible to pay them and afterward sell the goods with reasonable profit—smuggling now increased enormously. Wool became so plentiful at home that it fetched only about fivepence a pound; while three or four shillings could easily be got for it in France. This drove people to smuggle—to send out cargoes of woolen goods secretly, so as to avoid paying the customs duties; and the smugglers imported, in return, contraband goods—that is, those that ought to pay duty, but did not. Every returning vessel brought back quantities of brandy, wine, silks, and so forth, and landed them in remote places on the coast, so as to elude the customs officers and escape the duties. All these articles they bought cheaply in France, and either kept them for their own use, or more commonly sold them—cheaply, indeed, but still far beyond cost price; so that smuggling was, in those days, a very profitable business. None cared to interfere, for thousands of the Irish of all classes profited by it; and high and low, squires, magistrates, clergy, and peasants, Protestants and Catholics—almost the whole

population in fact—were in active combination against the law. The government were powerless to stop this trade, and for generations it flourished all round the coasts—one of the evil results of unjust and unwise legislation.

Gradually it came to pass that almost all branches of Irish trade and manufacture were destroyed by measures of the English Parliament—beer, malt, hats, cotton, silk, sailcloth, gun-powder, ironware. And a little farther on, it will be related how the embargo in the time of the American war not only ruined the farmers, but ruined the trade in salted beef and other such commodities.

The destruction of all industry produced the natural results. During the first half of the eighteenth century Ireland was in an appalling state of misery: regularly recurring famines with their attendant diseases all over the country, and whole districts depopulated. A large proportion of the little capital left in the country was sent to England to absentee landlords by middlemen, who, in their turn, extracted the very last penny from the wretched cottiers, and this constant drain of money greatly aggravated the wretchedness brought on by want of employment. During the eighteenth century the peasantry of Ireland were the most miserable in Europe, and in the frequent famines a large proportion of the inhabitants were quite as badly off as the people of Derry during the worst part of the siege.

But the evil consequences of those evil laws did not end with the eighteenth century—they have come down to the present day. For when, subsequently, the restrictions were removed and trade was partially relieved, the remedy came too late. Some branches of manufacture and trade had been killed downright, and others permanently injured. An industry once extinguished is not easily revived. The trade in wool, a chief staple of Ireland, which was kept down for nearly a century, never recovered its former state of prosperity. The consequence of all this is that Ireland has at this day comparatively little manufacture and commerce; and the people have to depend for subsistence chiefly on the land. And this again, by increasing the competition for land, has intensified the land troubles inherited from the older times of the plantations.

Chapter XXXI

PARLIAMENTARY STRUGGLE. 1698-1757

READERS of Irish history should carefully bear in mind that the proceedings of the Irish Parliament, and the political history of the country during the eighteenth century, have reference almost solely to the Protestant portion of the community; and that the struggles of the Irish legislature for independence, to be related in this and the following chapters, were the struggles of Protestants alone. The Catholics had no power to take part in these contests, for no Catholic could be a member of Parliament, or even vote at an election for one. They kept almost wholly silent—at least during the first half of the century—believing that the less attention they drew on themselves the better; for they cowered under the law, and knew not the moment they might be visited with further crushing enactments. The Protestants of the Irish Patriotic Party strove for the rights of the Protestant people only. The Catholics never entered into their thoughts except for the purpose of keeping them down. Molyneux, Swift, Lucas, Flood, and many other patriots that will come before us as we go along, were all against granting any political liberty to Catholics. Burke and Grattan were almost the only two great Protestants of the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century who took a broader view, and advocated the right of the Irish Catholics to be placed on terms of equality with the Protestant people.

The position of the Irish Parliament during the greater part of the century was this—the high government officials, from the lord lieutenant down, were nearly all Englishmen, with commonly a few Irishmen of English sympathies. These formed what may be called the Court Party. They were in favor of English ascendancy, being always ready to carry out the wishes of the king and the English council; and as, by the various means at their disposal described farther on—bribery, pensions, situations, titles, etc.—they were nearly always able to have a majority of members in their favor,

the English interest was all-powerful in the Irish Parliament. But among a thoughtful section of Irish Protestants, who had the interests of their own country, or at least of the Protestant part of it, at heart, the unjust laws that destroyed the industries of Ireland and ruined and impoverished its people to enrich English merchants and tradesmen, and the appointment of Englishmen to all the important posts to the exclusion of Irishmen, provoked feelings of resentment and distrust toward the English Government akin to those produced in time of old by a similar course of ill-treatment, and kindled in them a sentiment of patriotism which became more intensified as time went on. They were always represented in Parliament by a small opposition, who came to be called Patriots, or the Patriotic or Popular Party. Some of these were indeed selfish and corrupt, and made themselves troublesome merely to induce the government to buy them off by giving them good situations or pensions. But there was always a solid body of men of a different stamp, like Molyneux and Grattan, who, so far as lay in their power, resisted all dictation and all encroachment on the privileges of the Irish Parliament, or on the rights and liberties of the country. They held steadily in view two main objects: To remove the ruinous restrictions on trade and commerce, and to make their Parliament as far as possible independent, so that it might have a free hand to manage the affairs of Ireland. It was the unjust trade-laws, and the constant preferment of Englishmen over the heads of Irishmen that gave origin to the Irish Patriotic Party, and brought to the front their great leaders both in and out of Parliament, from Molyneux to Swift and from Swift to Grattan. Gradually, year by year, they gained strength, and ultimately, as we shall see, carried their main points against the government, but it was a long and bitter struggle. Sometimes it happened in cases of unusual provocation, that, not only the small party of Patriots, but the great majority of the Irish members were roused to successful resistance in spite of the influence of the Court Party, of which we shall see instances as we go along. The struggle between these two parties forms the main feature in the political history of Ireland during the greater part of the eighteenth century.

The resistance began early. In 1698, some years before the time we are now treating of, William Molyneux, member of Parliament for the University of Dublin, a man of great scientific eminence, published his famous book, "The Case of Ireland's being

bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated," in which he denounced the commercial injustice done to Ireland, traced the growth of the Irish Parliament, and maintained that it was independent of that of England, and had a right to make its own laws. This essay was received in England with great indignation; and the Parliament there, pronouncing it dangerous, ordered it to be burned publicly by the hangman. But the powerful statement of Molyneux, though it taught his countrymen a useful lesson, did not close up the road to ruin; for in the very year after its publication came the most crushing of all the restrictions, the act destroying the Irish wool industry.

A few years later on the bitter feelings excited in Ireland by these and other such proceedings were greatly intensified by a notable event brought about by a lawsuit commonly know as the Annesley Case. A dispute about some property arose, in 1719, between two Irish persons, Hester Sherlock and Maurice Annesley, which the Dublin Court of Exchequer decided in favor of Annesley; but the Irish House of Lords, on being appealed to, reversed this and gave judgment in favor of Hester Sherlock. Annesley appealed to the English House of Lords, who affirmed the Exchequer decision, reversing that of the Irish Lords; and they fined Burrowes, the sheriff of Kildare, because he refused to put Annesley in possession in obedience to their decree. But the Irish peers remitted the fine, declaring the appeal to the English Lords illegal, commended the sheriff for his action, and went farther by taking into custody the three barons of the Court of Exchequer who had given judgment for Annesley. The English Parliament at last ended the dispute by passing a momentous act (known as "The Sixth of George I.") deciding that the English Parliament had the right to make laws for Ireland; and depriving the Irish House of Lords of the right to hear appeals. It will be remembered that Poynings' Act did not give the English Parliament the power of legislating for Ireland. The Sixth of George I. now asserted this right for the first time, and thus took away whatever little independence Poynings' Law had left, and reduced the Irish Parliament to a mere shadow.

The task of actively opposing the Court Party, by speech and pen, was not left solely in the hands of members of Parliament: there were men equally able and active outside, of whom the most brilliant by far was Jonathan Swift, the celebrated Dean of St.

Patrick's in Dublin. He was indignant at the destruction of Irish industries for the benefit of English traders, and in 1720 he wrote an essay encouraging the Irish people to retaliate by rejecting all clothing and furniture made in England, and using only their own home manufacture: an essay that so enraged the authorities of both countries that, although there was nothing illegal in the proposal, the government prosecuted the printer, but failed to have him punished, notwithstanding the brow-beating efforts of the judge who tried the case.

It was, however, Swift's action in the case of "Wood's Halfpence" that brought him into the greatest notoriety. At this time much inconvenience was felt in Ireland from the want of small copper coins: and, in 1723, the English treasury, without consulting the Irish authorities, granted a patent for coining 108,000*l.* in base-metal halfpence and farthings, to the king's favorite the Duchess of Kendal, who sold the patent to an English iron merchant named Wood, a transaction which would bring an immense profit to the duchess and to Wood. And what made the matter all the worse was that not more than about 15,000*l.* in small coin was needed. This gross job created intense alarm and indignation in Ireland. The Patriots vehemently attacked and exposed it; the two Irish houses addressed the king, representing that this base coinage would diminish revenue and destroy commerce, and multitudes of pamphlets, songs, squibs, and coarse caricatures were written and circulated in Dublin attacking "Wood's Halfpence." But the scheme was pressed by powerful friends at court, and would have succeeded only for Swift. He wrote and printed five letters, one after another, with the signature "W. B. Drapier," pointing out in simple, homely, vigorous language that the most ignorant could understand, the evils which, according to him, would result from the coinage. These coins were so bad, as he told his readers, that twenty-four of them were worth no more than one good penny; that if a lady went shopping she should have to bring with her a cart loaded with the new money; that a farmer would have to employ three horses to bring his rent to his landlord; that a poor man would have to give thirty-six of the halfpence for a quart of ale; and that it would ruin all classes, even the very beggars; for, when a man gives a beggar one of these halfpence, it "will do him no more service than if I should give him three pins out of my sleeve." There had been great excitement; but it was increased

tenfold by these letters. The court officials were greatly provoked and the lord lieutenant offered a reward of 300*l.* for the discovery of the author; but, though everyone knew who the author was, no one came forward to inform on him. At length matters looked so threatening that the patent had to be withdrawn, a victory that greatly strengthened the hands of the Patriots; and the Dean became amazingly popular all through Ireland among both Protestants and Catholics.

In the middle of the century the Popular Party had for leaders, Councilor Anthony Malone, a member of the House of Commons, a good statesman and a good orator; and Charles Lucas, a Dublin apothecary, not then in Parliament, though he was subsequently elected; while their leader in the lords was the Earl of Kildare, afterward Duke of Leinster. Under these three able men they boldly attacked the corrupt practices of the government, and triumphed on more than one occasion.

The feeling against Catholics had lately been growing somewhat less bitter, and they began to bestir themselves, hoping to obtain some little relief. The first timid movements were made by three Catholic gentlemen: Dr. Curry, a physician of Dublin, historian of the civil wars in Ireland; Charles O'Conor of Bellanger in Roscommon, a distinguished scholar and antiquarian, author of several books on Irish historical literature; and Mr. Wyse of Waterford. They endeavored, in the first instance, to stir up the Catholic clergy and aristocracy to agitate for their rights; but here their efforts quite failed, for these classes, having already suffered so much, were fearful that any attempt to obtain justice might only make matters worse. At this time, however, a good many Catholics, driven from the professions, had, as already stated, taken to business and commerce in Dublin and other cities: and among these classes Curry and his colleagues were more successful; so that they founded the "Catholic Committee" to watch over the interests of Catholics. This body was to hold its meetings in Dublin. The association spread some enlightenment, and infused some faint life and hope among the Catholics; and it may be regarded as the feeble beginning of the movement for Catholic relief, which subsequently became so formidable and successful under O'Connell.

Chapter XXXII

DISCONTENT AND DANGER. 1757-1775

MIDDLEMEN, a class of persons well known in Ireland, had a great deal to do with the wretched condition of the Irish peasantry during the eighteenth century. These were men who took tracts of land from the absentee landlords at a moderate rent, and sublet it to cottiers and small farmers at rack-rents that left hardly enough to support life. Sometimes there were two middlemen, the one who let the land to the farmers being himself the tenant of another over his head, who, in his turn, rented it from the great absentee; and not unfrequently there were three, each making a profit from the next below. But whether one, two, or three, the tillers of the soil were always kept in a state of the greatest poverty, being quite at the mercy of their immediate landlord. Those who had leases were indeed a little better off; but very few had; nearly all were tenants at will, and the landlord made them pay whatever he pleased. This state of things, which affected both Protestants and Catholics, existed in every part of Ireland during the whole of this century, and continued far into the next.

Other causes contributed to the prevailing depression. Toward the middle of the century there was a very general movement among landlords, both great and small, to turn the land to pasture, for they found it more profitable to graze and sell cattle than to let the land for tillage, and thousands of poor cottiers were turned off in order that the land might be converted into great grazing farms. Near many of the villages in various parts of Ireland were " Commons," stretches of grassy upland or bog which were free to the people to use for grazing or for cutting turf, and formed one of their chief ways of living. These had belonged to them time out of mind, being in fact the remains of the Commons Land of ancient days; but about this period the landlords had begun to enclose them as private property, chiefly for grazing. The people had other reasons for discontent, too. They complained that the landlords charged excessive rents for bogs; and the gentry everywhere managed to

evade the tithes payable to the ministers of the Established Church, which in consequence fell chiefly on the very poorest of the people. In addition to all these was the general want of employment due to the loss of trade of every kind, already referred to, which drove the peasantry to depend on land as almost their sole means of subsistence.

At last the people, with some wild notions of redressing their grievances, began to combine in various secret, oath-bound societies by which the country was for many years greatly disturbed. Of these the most noteworthy were the Whiteboys—so called because they wore white shirts over their coats when out on their nightly excursions—who were confined chiefly to the counties of Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Tipperary. The movement was not sectarian; and it was not directed against the government, but against the oppression of individuals. The Whiteboys rose up in the first instance (in 1761) against the enclosure of Commons, and persons of different religions joined them; for all suffered equally from the encroachments of the landlords, and Catholics as well as Protestants fell under their vengeance. They traversed the country at night, leveling all the new fences that enclosed the Commons, and digging up pasture land to force tillage, whence they at first got the name of Levelers. But they soon went beyond their original designs, setting themselves up as redressers of all sorts of grievances, and they committed terrible outrages on those who became obnoxious to them. Sometimes they took people out of their beds in winter, and immersed them naked up to the chin in a pit of water full of briars. At length they became so troublesome that a large force was sent, in 1762, to suppress them, under the Marquis of Drogheda, who fixed his headquarters at Clogheen in Tipperary. The parish priest, Father Nicholas Sheehy, was accused of enrolling Whiteboys, and a reward was offered for his arrest; but he, earnestly denying the charge, surrendered, and was tried in Dublin and acquitted. He was immediately rearrested on a charge of murdering one of his accusers, and after a doubtful trial, was convicted and hanged. Father Sheehy asserted his innocence to the last; the people considered him a martyr, and his execution caused fearful excitement.

In Ulster there were similar secret associations among the Protestant peasantry, brought about by causes of much the same kind as those of the south. One main ground of complaint

was that every man was forced to give six days' work in the year, and six days' work of a horse, in the making or repairing of roads, which the gentry made full use of, while they themselves contributed nothing. Those who banded together against this were called "Hearts of Oak." Another association, the "Hearts of Steel," rose in 1769, against unjust and exorbitant rents; for the people of Ulster were as much oppressed as those of Munster by middlemen, who were here commonly known as "Forestallers." These "Oakboys" and "Steelboys," not content with their original objects, set themselves to redress various abuses about land, like their brethren in the south; and they also opposed the payment of tithes, which had been lately very much increased in Ulster. There were many other secret societies at this time and for long afterward, culminating later on in the most celebrated of them all, the United Irishmen.

The oppression of the northern peasantry by the gentry caused a great emigration of the best of the people to America, or rather increased the emigration begun more than half a century before; and when, a little later, the war broke out between England and the United States, the most determined and dangerous of the troops who fought against the English were the sturdy expatriated Presbyterians of Ulster, and the descendants of those who had emigrated on account of religious persecution and the destruction of the wool trade. The first Irish settlers went to New England, and settled in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, where some places still bear names of Irish origin. But in succeeding years far more went into Pennsylvania and the Southern colonies. Philadelphia was the chief landing place, although some went to Charleston. Those disembarking at Philadelphia went into the "back counties" of Pennsylvania, and many found their way thence south into Virginia and the Carolinas, meeting there those who had landed in the south, until the region of the Alleghenies and beyond was peopled mainly by that race. Most of these were of the so-called Scotch-Irish, most were Protestants (although there were a few Irish Catholics in and around Philadelphia and Baltimore), and all were of an adventurous nature and rough and ready spirit. In Revolutionary times Generals Montgomery and Sullivan, in a later period Calhoun and Andrew Jackson, were prominent examples of this people and their descendants.

Meantime, through all troubles, the contest of the two parties

in Parliament went on without the least cessation. The Court Party were strong, and continued to purchase members to their side by various corrupt means; but the Patriots were vigilant, and never gave the government a day's rest. Pensions constituted one of the principal forms of bribery. Large pensions were given to numbers of persons who had done nothing to earn them; and some were bestowed on favorites by the English privy council and charged to Ireland without any reference to the Irish Government; so that the pension list had grown to enormous proportions. This corrupt and ruinous pension list was vehemently attacked by the Patriots under the lead of a great man, Henry Flood, who was aided by the growing eloquence of a still more celebrated patriot, Henry Grattan, then a very young man, and not yet in Parliament. But, although they fully exposed the corruption of the pension list, the government proved too strong for them, and the evil, so far from abating, continued to increase year by year.

Another question arose about this time which excited great interest—that of the duration of Parliament. In England the utmost limit was seven years; at the end of which the Parliament, if it lasted so long, had to be dissolved, and there was a general election. This was a good plan; for if a member acted wrong the electors could put another in his place without much delay. But in Ireland Parliament lasted as long as the king wished, and the preceding one had continued during the entire reign of George II.—thirty-three years.

This state of things led to great abuses, and several times the Patriots brought in a Septennial or seven years bill, and the majority of the Irish Parliament agreed to send over the heads of the bill for approval by the English council, in accordance with Poynings' Law. But, in each case, no notice was taken of the communication. In 1767 once more, the Patriots, under the leadership of Charles Lucas, did the same thing; and this time the document was returned, approved, from England, but with the seven years changed to eight, which was accepted by the Irish Parliament. The passing of this Octennial Bill was the occasion of much popular rejoicing in Ireland.

After this bill had become law there was a dissolution, and a new Parliament was elected. During the election, Lord Townshend—that lord lieutenant under whom the Octennial Bill had been passed—made use of every possible form of bribery, and

with much success, to have members returned favorable to his side. But, with all his corrupt practices, he failed to bring this new House of Commons with him on one important point. Both in England and in Ireland the Commons have always jealously preserved to themselves the power to originate money bills—that is, the power to raise money by taxation and to apply it to the expenses of the country—justly holding that the representatives of the people have alone the right to tax the people. On the present occasion the English privy council sent over a money bill for Ireland, with directions to have it passed by the Irish Parliament; but it was rejected "because it did not originate in the House of Commons" —the very phrase used in Sydney's Parliament in 1692—which greatly incensed Lord Townshend. Keeping his mind to himself, however, he first got Parliament to pass the usual money supplies to the government, and when these were safe, he had the Commons summoned to the bar of the House of Lords, where he lectured them severely for their conduct about the money bill, and prorogued Parliament for fourteen months. He entered a protest in the books of the House of Lords against the rejection of the bill; but the Commons, who were more firm than the Lords, forbade their clerk to enter the same protest on their books. These proceedings of Townshend, which were felt to be a mixture of trickery and tyranny, caused great indignation, and gave renewed strength to the popular party.

All this time the Catholics were almost wholly silent, taking no part in political questions: their only desire being to avoid the sharp fangs of the law. Yet there were signs of some faint desire to indulge them a little; but how little may be judged from one small concession, and the difficulty of having even that granted. Lord Townshend had an act passed (1771), which had been previously often rejected, enabling a Catholic to take on long lease, and reclaim as best he could, fifty acres of bog; and, if it were too deep or marshy for building on, he was permitted to have half an acre of solid land on which to build a house. But these precautions were inserted: that the bog should be at least four feet deep, and that it should not be nearer than a mile to any market town.

Townshend at last growing tired of the ceaseless opposition of the Patriots, and of the everlasting deluge of hostile literature in newspapers, pamphlets, ballads, and all sorts of witty squibs, with ugly caricatures, resigned in 1772. During his term of office

he had done more to corrupt Parliament than any of his predecessors, by dismissing all opposed to him, and by giving pensions, places, and titles—all to secure a majority for the Court or English Party. By this open and perpetual corruption he managed to keep up a majority and to have the most of his measures passed. But, on the other hand, these proceedings had the effect of consolidating the Patriotic Party, and of strengthening their determination to break down the purely English influence, and to have Irish affairs managed mainly for the benefit of Ireland, and not solely for that of England, as had hitherto been the case.

Chapter XXXIII

THE VOLUNTEERS. 1775-1779

IN 1775 began the war between England and her North American colonies, which in more ways than one had much influence on the affairs of Ireland, mostly favorable, but sometimes the reverse. Notwithstanding all the disastrous restrictions, some channels for commerce still remained open to Ireland; and a brisk trade was carried on by the export of provisions of different kinds, especially salted meat, to various countries. But even this industry did not escape; for in the very year after the breaking out of the war, an embargo was laid on the exportation of Irish provisions, in order to cheapen food for the British army, as well as to prevent supplies reaching America. In other words, all export of provisions from Ireland was prohibited. This nearly ruined the farmers and all others employed in the trade, and caused instant distress everywhere. As might be expected, it gave rise to a flourishing smuggling trade, which was extensively carried on, especially round the intricate coasts of the South and West, but which went no way in alleviating the distress. The embargo was ordered by the English authorities of their own motion, without consulting Ireland; and this fact, with the sight of the misery that had been suddenly brought on the country, caused such dangerous discontent in the Irish Parliament that it was considered desirable to dissolve it, and have a new set of more pliable members elected. The general election accordingly came, and as usual there was extensive bribery to secure a government majority.

In Ireland the people generally sympathized with America, for they felt that the grievances from which they had so long suffered were much the same as those against which the Americans had risen in revolt; and they began to entertain a hope that one outcome of the war might be free trade for their own country, the only possible remedy for the prevailing misery.

In England the feeling of the Irish people was well understood; and some discussions regarding the injustice done to Irish

trade were originated in the English Parliament by Edmund Burke and other friends of Ireland; but a great cry was instantly raised by English manufacturers and traders—an outburst of mere selfishness—against any movement that threatened their own privileges by relieving the Irish people, and the end of the matter was that only a few trifling concessions were made.

The war in America had gone steadily against the English; and great consternation was caused when news came in 1777 that General Burgoyne with 6000 men had surrendered to the American General Gates at Saratoga. But there was greater alarm still in the following year, when France acknowledged the independence of the United States. This was immediately followed by a measure carried in the English Parliament, partially relieving English Catholics from their disabilities, and with this example to follow, Luke Gardiner, afterward Lord Mountjoy, brought in a bill in the Irish Parliament to grant considerable relief to Irish Catholics and dissenters.

At this time indeed much of the Penal Code had fallen into disuse, but still it hung over the heads of the Catholics, and might be brought down at any time. Yet there was considerable opposition to Gardiner's proposal; but the government favored it, and in 1778 the bill was carried by a small majority. At the same time the embargo was removed, but during the two or three years of its continuance it had done irreparable damage by causing the trade in salted meat to be transferred to other countries.

The act of relief repealed those enactments which prohibited the purchase of freehold property by Catholics, and which gave the whole property to the eldest son, and the right of separate maintenance at the father's expense to any other child who became a Protestant. Catholics could now take land on freehold lease, *i. e.*, on lease for life. Instead of the right to purchase land in perpetuity, they got what was much the same thing, the right to lease for 999 years. The Test Act was also abolished, which relieved Presbyterians as well as Catholics.

All this time Ireland was in a very defenseless state. For in the very year of the opening of the war, 4000 Irish troops had been sent away at the request of the king, for service in America, leaving only three or four thousand in the country, and though the English Government proposed to send to Ireland 4000 Protestant soldiers from Germany in place of those who had been drafted away,

the Irish House of Commons declined to admit them, saying that the loyal people of Ireland were well able to protect themselves without the aid of any foreign troops. Now, however, things began to look very threatening, and people feared foreign invasion. For not only was the war going on badly, but France and Spain were both hostile, and the English and Irish coasts swarmed with American privateers which captured British merchant vessels and did immense damage.

In the north of Ireland the people had good reason for apprehension. Only about eighteen years before (in 1760), an attack had been made in Ulster by a French party. All this was vividly remembered; and now the celebrated privateer Paul Jones, a Scotchman in the service of the United States, with his vessel the *Ranger,* was committing great depredations round the Irish coast. Outside Carrickfergus he captured an English brig, and got safely off with her to Brest.

The Irish saw that if they were to be protected at all they must protect themselves; and this conviction gave origin to the Volunteer Movement, which was begun toward the end of 1778. The first Volunteer companies were raised in Belfast, after which the movement rapidly spread; the country gentlemen armed and drilled their tenants; and by May of the following year nearly 4000 were enrolled in the counties of Down and Antrim. The authorities did not look on this movement with favor, knowing well that it would strengthen the opposition; for it was got up by the people and their leaders, quite independent of the government, but the feeling of the country was too strong for them. The formation of Volunteer companies extended to other parts of Ireland, and before the end of the year 42,000 Volunteers were enrolled.

James Caulfield, Earl of Charlemont, a man universally respected, of refined tastes and scholarly attainments, and moderate in his views, was in command of the Northern Volunteers; the Duke of Leinster, of those of Leinster; and other gentlemen of influence took the lead in other parts of Ireland.

We must remember two things in regard to these Volunteers. First, the rank and file were the very people who most severely felt the prevailing distress caused by the suppression of Irish trade; and who, without being in any sense disloyal, were bitterly hostile to the government, while their sympathies were entirely with the Patriotic Party. Of all this the government were well aware, but

they dared not attempt to keep down the movement. They were obliged even to go so far as to supply arms, though much against their will: but all other expenses, including uniforms, were borne by the people themselves. The second matter to be borne in mind is that this was a Protestant movement, the Catholics not yet being permitted to take any positions of trust; but as time went on Catholics gradually joined the ranks in considerable numbers.

Parliament met in October (1779). The Patriotic Party had now the Volunteers at their back, and just as the government had feared, assumed a bolder tone; and what gave their demands tenfold strength was that they were known to be thoroughly loyal, and wanted nothing more than the redress of admitted grievances. Flood had been their leader down to 1774, when he took office under the government, having been appointed vice treasurer with a salary of 3500*l.* a year. This obliged him to keep silent on most of the great questions in dispute between the two parties, and he lost the confidence of the people, which was now transferred to Grattan.

Though the embargo had been removed, all the older restrictions on Irish trade still remained, under which it was impossible for the country to prosper, or even to emerge from poverty. On the assembling of Parliament, Grattan, in an amendment to the Address, brought in a motion demanding free trade, which, after some discussion, was carried unanimously. Even the members in government employment voted for this: it was proposed by Walter Hussey Burgh, the Prime Sergeant, and was supported by Flood, Hely Hutchinson, Ponsonby, and Gardiner, all holding offices. Dublin was in a state of great excitement, and the Parliament house was surrounded by an immense crowd shouting for free trade; for now, at last, they saw some prospect of relief. The Address, with Grattan's amendment, was borne through Dame Street by the Speaker and the Commons in procession, from the Parliament house to the castle, to be presented to Lord Buckinghamshire, the lord lieutenant. The streets were lined both sides with Volunteers under the Duke of Leinster: as the members walked along they were received with acclamation by an immense multitude, and the Volunteers presented arms in honor of the Speaker and members.

It was in the debates on this question that Hussey Burgh made his reputation as an orator. In one of them he used a sentence that has become famous. Someone had remarked that Ireland was

at peace; "Talk not to me of peace," said he; "Ireland is not at peace; it is smothered war. England has sown her laws as dragons' teeth: they have sprung up in armed men." This sentence produced unparalleled excitement; and, when it had calmed down so that he could be heard, he announced that he resigned his office under the Crown. "The gates of promotion are shut," exclaimed Grattan; "the gates of glory are opened!"

But to the British Parliament alone, which had laid on the restrictions, belonged the task of removing them. In November (1779) the English prime minister, Lord North, introduced three propositions to relieve Irish trade; the first permitted free export of Irish wool and woolen goods; the second free export of Irish glass manufactures; the third allowed free trade with the British colonies. The first two were passed immediately; the third after a little time. The news of this was received with great joy in Dublin.

Chapter XXXIV

LEGISLATIVE INDEPENDENCE. 1780–1783

EVERY important demand made so far by the popular party in Ireland had been conceded; and the more they forced the government to restore, the more they were determined to have. They had obtained some relief for trade: they now resolved that their Parliament, which was bound down by Poynings' Law and by the Sixth of George I., should also be free. On April 19, 1780, in a magnificent speech, Grattan moved his memorable resolutions:

That the king, with the Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the only power on earth competent to enact laws to bind Ireland.

That Great Britain and Ireland are inseparably united under one sovereign.

The question, however, was not put directly to a division: for, though it was obvious that the sense of the house was on the side of Grattan, he and his party might have been outvoted if a vote had been taken.

The next debate arose on a mutiny bill—that is, a bill to maintain and pay the army. In England the Mutiny Act is not permanent: it is passed from year to year, lest the army might be used by the king or government as an instrument of oppression, as it was often done in days gone by, when kings, with an army at their back, did what they pleased in defiance of Parliament and people. The Mutiny Bill for Ireland was passed by the Irish Parliament after a long contest; but, having been transmitted to the English authorities, it was returned changed to a perpetual bill—the very thing they took good care to avoid in England. The Irish Government, following their directions as usual, proposed this measure in the Parliament in 1780; but it was most resolutely opposed, and created great irritation and excitement all over the country. Nevertheless the Court Party carried it in spite of all expostulation; and carried it by wholesale bribery, especially by selling peerages and peerage promotions. In

this, as in many other instances, the action of the government, both in England and Ireland, appears to have been singularly ill-judged and short-sighted, in exasperating the Irish people at the very time of wars with America, France, Spain, and other countries. Their proceedings, instead of suppressing the spirit now abroad through the country, or allaying excitement, intensified the discontent and spread the agitation.

Meantime the enthusiasm for home government was spreading and intensifying; and the opposition, led by Grattan, gained strength and confidence by the great increase of the Volunteers, who, much against the wish of the government, continued to be enrolled in the four provinces, till at last they numbered 100,000 men. The country was now all ablaze with excitement, though perfectly peaceable; and people scarcely thought or talked of anything but the question of a free Parliament. During the early months of 1781 innumerable meetings were held all over Ireland; and what was more significant, there were reviews of the Volunteers everywhere in the four provinces, with the great question always in their thoughts and speech. In Belfast Lord Charlemont rode through the crowded streets at the head of his splendid corps, and issued an address, in which he hailed the spirit of freedom that had enabled them, without help from outside, to provide against foreign invasion, and looked forward to the accomplishment of legislative independence.

In the session of 1781, which did not open till October, Grattan was the great leader of the popular party. He was seconded with almost equal ability by Flood, who, toward the end of the preceding year, finding his position of enforced silence unendurable, had thrown up his government appointment, and had been removed by the king from his seat on the Privy Council. Though holding office, he had never worked well with the government; and he now joined his old friends, and thereby regained much of his former popularity. They had at their back a number of able and brilliant men—Hely Hutchinson, John Fitzgibbon (afterward, when in office, a bitter enemy of the cause he now advocated), Hussey Burgh, Barry Yelverton, and others. Barry Yelverton had given notice of motion on December 5, 1781, for the repeal of Poynings' Act; but on that day news came of a great disaster—the surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his whole army in America, which ruined the cause of England in the war. Whereupon Yelverton, abandon-

ing his motion for the time, moved an address of loyalty and attachment to the king, which was carried. The repeal of Poynings' Law was, however, again moved in the same month by Flood, but the motion was defeated by government.

During all this session the government authorities were able to secure a majority by a plentiful distribution of patronage; so that it would have been quite useless to bring forward a motion for legislative independence. At last Grattan, hopeless of being able to contend in Parliament against the forces of corruption, determined to let the empire hear the voice of even a more powerful pleader. A convention of delegates from the Ulster Volunteers was summoned for February 15, at Dungannon, the old home of Hugh O'Neill. Two hundred and forty-two delegates from 143 Volunteer corps of Ulster, most of them men of wealth and station, assembled in the Dissenting Meeting House of Dungannon. The proceedings were managed chiefly by Grattan, Flood, and Lord Charlemont; and thirteen resolutions were adopted, of which the most important were:

That the king, Lords, and Commons of Ireland have alone the right to legislate for the country:

That Poynings' Law is unconstitutional and a grievance, and should be revoked:

That the ports of Ireland should be open to all nations not at war with the king:

That a permanent mutiny bill is unconstitutional.

And "That as men and Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the Penal Laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; and we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the Union and prosperity to the inhabitants of Ireland." This last was inserted at the instance of Grattan; and, among its most ardent supporters were three clergymen delegates—one belonging to the Established Church, the other two Presbyterians. The resolutions of the Dungannon Convention were adopted by all the Volunteer corps of Ireland; and they formed the basis of the momentous legislation that followed. These spirit-stirring proceedings were altogether the work of Protestants, for the Catholics were still shut out from taking any part in them.

On the day that the Dungannon resolutions were passed, Luke Gardiner introduced a measure for the further relief of Catho-

lics, which, after some opposition and delay, was adopted. They were allowed to buy, sell, and otherwise dispose of lands the same as their Protestant neighbors. The statute against celebrating and hearing Mass, and those requiring the registration of priests, and forbidding the residence of bishops and other clergy, were all repealed. Catholic schoolmasters could teach schools, and Catholics could be guardians of children; the law prohibiting a Catholic from having a horse worth more than 5*l.* was repealed, as well as those which made Catholics pay for losses by robberies, and which forbade them to come to live in Limerick and Galway.

The next meeting of Parliament was on April 16, 1782. The citizens of Dublin, believing that what they had long hoped for was coming, were all abroad: and among them, the Volunteers were conspicuous with their bands, banners, and bright uniforms. The usual Address was moved, to which Grattan moved an amendment. He was very ill at the time, and when he rose he was pale and trembling; but, as he went on, he gathered strength and energy; and his splendid speech moved the whole house to uncontrollable excitement. The amendment comprised all the chief demands of the Protestant Irish people, ending with the declaration that the king and Irish Parliament alone had the right to make laws for Ireland. These were merely a repetition of the Dungannon resolutions, with the exception of that relating to Catholic emancipation, which was not expressly mentioned. The amendment was unanimously agreed to. The next part of the proceedings was in the English Parliament. On May 17 a resolution for the repeal of the Sixth of George I. was proposed in the Lords by the Earl of Shelburne, and in the Commons by Charles James Fox, to which both houses agreed.

This concession, known as the Act of Repeal, was communicated by the viceroy to the Irish Parliament at its meeting of May 27. It was interpreted to mean that England gave Ireland an independent Parliament, over which it renounced all authority, annulled Poynings' Law, restored to the Irish Lords the right to hear appeals, abolished the right of appeal to the English Lords, and in general yielded all the demands of Grattan's amendments. The news was received in Ireland with a tremendous outburst of joy, both in the House and among the people all over the country, and as an evidence of gratitude, the Parliament voted to the British navy 20,000 men and 100,000*l.*

It was felt and acknowledged that this consummation was mainly due to Grattan. Lecky says of him, "The man who, during the last anxious years, had stood forth from his countrymen, beyond all rivalry and all comparison, was Henry Grattan. His splendid eloquence, the perfect confidence which was felt in his honor and in his disinterestedness, the signal skill, energy, and moderation with which he had at once animated and controlled the patriotic party were universally acknowledged, and at this time almost universally admired." The Irish Parliament voted him a grant of 100,000*l.* But he accepted only 50,000*l.*, and even that after much persuasion. With this he bought an estate in Queen's County, and he took up his permanent residence in a beautiful spot that he loved—Tinnehinch, near Enniskerry in Wicklow, twelve miles from Dublin.

Flood was of opinion that the English Parliament should have gone farther by formally renouncing the right to make laws for Ireland: and, as confirming his view, the English Parliament, in January of the following year, 1783, when Lord Shelburne was prime minister, actually passed the Act of Renunciation, declaring that Ireland's right to be bound only by the laws made by the king and the Irish Parliament was "established and ascertained forever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable."

Chapter XXXV

GRATTAN'S PARLIAMENT. 1783-1785

AFTER 1782 the only connection between the two Parliaments of England and Ireland was that the king was head of both. Beyond this they were, at least in theory, quite independent of one another. The English Parliament was free to legislate for England, but not for Ireland; and the Irish Parliament could make any laws it pleased for Ireland, subject only, by the constitution, to the veto of the king, to which the English Parliament was also subject. But now this free Irish Parliament stood sadly in need of reform; for it was, unhappily, as bad a type of Parliament as could well be conceived. Bad as it was, however, Grattan and his followers were only too glad to accept it, believing that reform would come in due course. With all its shortcomings, it encouraged trade and manufacture, and developed the natural resources of the country; so that Ireland prospered under its administration, as will be further noticed in the next chapter. Let us look at some of the worst features of this Parliament.

Of the 300 members more than 100 were pensioners of the government, or held government situations, all of whom voted just as they were directed by the authorities. Nearly all the boroughs were in the hands of a few lords and rich men, most of them on the side of the government; so that any man might become a member of Parliament by paying a sum of money to some borough owner, who then ordered the people to elect him: all which was a very money-making business; for sometimes a person who wanted to be elected paid as much as 10,000*l.* for his seat. A Parliament ought to consist of members elected by the free votes of those who have the franchise—the right to vote: but, of the 300 members of this Parliament, not more than 70 or 80 were returned by the free votes of the people. All this was a bad state of things; but it was hard to remedy, for these placemen and borough owners, and those whom they got elected, were the very men who had the making, altering, and repealing of the laws in their hands. Then,

again, the spurious boroughs formed in the time of the Stuarts still existed, many of which contained only about a dozen electors; so that it was always easy, by merely spending a little money in bribery, to have persons elected who would back up the government in everything. But, perhaps, the worst feature was that the Roman Catholics, who formed four-fifths of the population, were totally shut out: a Catholic could neither be a member nor vote for a member. The Parliament did not represent the nation; and it did not represent even the Protestant people. Though it had the name of being, after 1782, independent of the English Government, it really was not so; for the Irish authorities were directly under the influence of the English Council, and could almost always secure a majority in Parliament. The government of Ireland was, in fact, a sort of oligarchy, in which the people of the country had hardly any voice; and the ministry might do almost what they pleased. There never was a Parliament more in need of reform, and reform would have saved it, and saved the country, the horrors of 1798.

Two great questions now lay before the country: Parliamentary reform and the removal of the restrictions which still remained on Irish commerce. A third question was Catholic emancipation; but people's minds were so occupied with the other two, that this was for the present left very much in the background. The Volunteers took up the question of parliamentary reform—the all important reform to put an end to bribery and corruption—to secure that all the members of Parliament should be elected by the free votes of the people. Several meetings were held at which the subject was discussed, and a general convention in Dublin of delegates from all the Volunteer corps of Ireland was arranged for November 10, 1783; all which proceedings were very alarming to the government, who wanted no reform of any kind in the parliamentary representation. The Parliament met in October. The necessity for retrenchment in the civil administration, which had grown costly mainly through the corruption of government, was before men's minds, and was strongly advocated by Grattan; but Flood proposed a reduction in the army, in which the sense of the house was against him, and Grattan opposed the proposal with much vehemence. Between these two great men an estrangement had been gradually growing up: and, in one of the debates on Flood's motion, there occurred a bitter and very lamentable altercation be-

tween them, which terminated their friendship forever. Yet, subsequently, each bore generous testimony to the greatness of the other.

November 10 came and 160 Volunteer delegates assembled in the Rotunda, in Dublin. They elected as chairman the Earl of Charlemont, the commander of the whole force. The meeting was held while the Parliament was sitting close by; and, after much discussion, certain reforms were agreed to, which were introduced immediately afterward into Parliament by Flood in the form of a bill. The debate was a stormy one, and the scene in the old Parliament House is described as "almost terrific." Barry Yelverton, afterward Lord Avonmore, now attorney-general, and of course on the government side, led the opposition to the bill, at the same time denouncing vehemently the attempt to coerce the Parliament by an armed body of men; and John Fitzgibbon, now the leading opponent of reform, and others, followed in the same strain. Flood, in a powerful speech, advocated the bill and defended the action of the Volunteers. Grattan supported it, but not very earnestly, for he maintained it was not the right time to bring it forward; and John Philpot Curran, who had been elected for Kilbeggan this same year, 1783, made his first parliamentary speech in favor of it. But the government party were too strong, and the bill was rejected by a large majority. Thus the efforts of the Popular Party to reform a corrupt Parliament ended, for the present, in failure through government opposition. The result produced great indignation, and there were serious fears of a collision between the Volunteers and the government; but the counsels of Lord Charlemont prevailed, and on December 2 the Volunteer convention was adjourned without any day being fixed for the next meeting. This was the death blow to the influence of the Volunteers; and, though they held together and continued to be enrolled for years, they never afterward played any important part in the political affairs of the country. But they broke away from the influence of Lord Charlemont and became more revolutionary in their ideas, after the example of France. In the following year (1784) Flood made another effort at reform, but the Irish Government successfully resisted all attempts to improve the representation.

The Volunteers, deserted by their leaders, now formed themselves into clubs and associations, and held secret meetings. In

Dublin, Belfast, and elsewhere, they began to drill men in the use of arms, Catholics as well as Protestants; whereupon the government increased the army to 15,000 men, and took measures to revive the militia, a force in the service of the Crown. But the people hated the militia, and the country became greatly disturbed. Scenes of violence occurred everywhere. Even in Dublin the mobs paraded the streets, attacked and maimed soldiers, broke into shops, and ill-used the shopkeepers for selling English goods. It was a time of great trouble and alarm.

The commercial arrangements between England and Ireland needed reform as much as did the parliamentary representation; for the regulations for the export and import of goods between the two countries were all unfair to Ireland. There were prohibitory duties on many kinds of Irish goods exported to England, but little or none on English goods brought to Ireland; so that while English manufacturers and traders had free scope to sell their goods in Ireland, the Irish could not sell theirs in England, which repressed the little that remained of Irish commerce and manufactures, and helped to keep the country in a state of poverty.

A movement was now made to remedy this state of things; and here the Irish Government were on the side of reform, though their ideas fell very short of those of the opposition. Thomas Orde, chief secretary, on the suggestion of William Pitt, then Chancellor of the Exchequer in England, brought down from the castle, on the part of the government, a scheme designed by Pitt, embodied in eleven propositions, which would go far to remedy the injustice, all of which were agreed to and passed through Parliament in the shape of resolutions (in 1785). They were forthwith transmitted to England for adoption there; for as the restrictions had been the work of the English Parliament, it was only in England they could be removed. But when they were proposed by Pitt, there arose violent opposition; petitions against them poured in from companies, manufacturers, and merchants, in all parts of England, who insisted on maintaining the arrangements which were for the advantage of themselves and for the disadvantage of Ireland. Whereupon Pitt, fearing to face the storm, abandoned Orde's bill, and brought down to the English Parliament twenty propositions of his own, much less favorable to Ireland—containing several injurious restrictions—and had them passed. These, on being transmitted to the Irish Government, and introduced

by them to the Irish House in August, 1785, were received by the opposition with an outburst of indignation. Flood led the opposition with all his old fire and energy. Grattan denounced the propositions in one of his finest speeches; and after an all-night stormy debate, the government had so small a majority—only 19—that they thought it more prudent to withdraw the bill; which caused great rejoicings in Dublin. Thus the whole scheme of reform, both parliamentary and commercial, fell through, and matters remained much as they were till the time of the Union.

Chapter XXXVI

REVIVAL OF SECRET SOCIETIES. 1785-1791

DURING the year 1785 discontent prevailed everywhere in Ireland, for which there were various sufficient causes. The Catholics were still oppressed by the penal laws, and the farmers of all religions were harassed by middlemen. But tithes and tithe-proctors were perhaps the most potent influence for disturbance about this time. All householders, Catholics and Dissenters as well as Anglican Protestants, had to pay "Tithes" for the support of the clergy of the Established Church. These would no doubt have been generally paid quietly enough but for the action of persons called "tithe-proctors," or "tithe-farmers," who collected them for absentee clergymen, or for those who were resident, but who for various reasons were not willing to enter personally on the business of collection. These proctors, some of them Catholics, some Protestants, commonly received a fixed proportion of the tithes—a third or a fourth—to pay for collection, so that it was to their interest to raise as much money as possible, and they extorted from the very poorest of the peasantry contributions far beyond what the law contemplated. Moreover, grazing lands were exempt, so that the impost fell chiefly on poor cottiers. A rich grazier with two or three thousand a year paid no tithes, while a half starved cottier had to pay them for his little plot; and this again discouraged tillage and tended to make grass land of the whole country. The people also of all denominations had to pay "Church-rate," or "Church-cess," a tax to keep the Protestant churches in repair. The payment of tithes and church-rate was resented by the Presbyterians even more bitterly than by the Catholics. Although it would have been quite easy to provide a remedy for tithes—something like the measure adopted half a century later (in 1838)—and though any reasonable proposal of the kind would have been approved by the authorities in England, the Irish Government obstinately resisted every attempt to settle

the matter, in spite of the earnest representations of Grattan and his party.

All through 1785 and 1786 the country was fearfully disturbed, and the peasantry formed themselves into illegal secret societies. In the south there was a revival of the Whiteboys, now calling themselves "Rightboys," led by an imaginary "Captain Right." These misguided men, like the Whiteboys, committed outrages on agents, middlemen, tithe-proctors, and others. The tithe-proctors especially, who had rendered themselves intensely odious by their cruel extortions, were pursued mercilessly, often mutilated, and sometimes killed. Another class, who were mostly blameless, the Protestant curates, always present to bear the odium, and striving to live on poor incomes of 40*l.* or 50*l.* a year, often suffered grievous ill-treatment.

In the North—in Armagh, Tyrone, and Down—another secret society had grown up among Protestants and Presbyterians, called "Peep-o'-day Boys," and afterwards known as "Protestant Boys" and "Wreckers." These directed their hostilities against Catholics, who again in self-defense formed themselves into bands called "Defenders." These two parties, who belonged generally to the lowest class of the peasantry, did immense damage—fought, maimed and killed each other, and otherwise caused great disorder.

The authorities were very much alarmed at the state of the country, and there were long and anxious discussions as to the best means of restoring quiet. So far as Dublin was concerned—for the city was as much troubled as the north and south—a plan was adopted, though after some opposition, which ultimately turned out an excellent and successful one: the government had a bill passed for the appointment of a number of constables to aid the city watchmen. This small body of men originated the present splendid force of the Dublin metropolitan police.

Fitzgibbon, who was now the leading influence against remedial meaures of every kind, attempted to put down the disturbances by causing the government to pass a crushing crimes bill, that is, a bill to give more power to the authorities to apprehend and punish the disturbers. Grattan was convinced of the necessity of some bill of the kind, but he wished for one much less severe, and he succeeded in having struck out some very violent and dangerous clauses inserted by Fitzgibbon, and in limiting the duration of the bill to three years. He endeavored also to have a parliamentary

inquiry to ascertain the causes of the discontent and disorders, with a view to their removal; but here he was overruled, and this "Engine of Redress," as he called it, was rejected.

The Popular Party in Parliament continued as vigilant and active as ever, and gave the government great trouble. The usual means were employed to break down their influence; but though the country had long been accustomed to this, probably at no previous period was there so much gross political corruption as during the lord lieutenancy of the Marquis of Buckingham from 1787 to 1790. He bribed openly and unsparingly, wherever he thought it would purchase supporters for the Court Party; and he dismissed all holders of government offices who showed any disposition to oppose him. Numbers of persons were made peers and baronets, and many peers were promoted; and he added 13,000*l.* a year to the pension list which before his time had grown to the yearly sum of 100,000*l.* He became at last intensely unpopular, and when he retired he had to steal away from Dublin by night.

During the year 1790 the north was far more disturbed than the south; and the Peep-o'-day Boys and the Defenders increased and multiplied, continued their outrages, and fought their battles. Among the better educated classes, who saw no hope of reform by parliamentary and constitutional means, the doctrines of the French Revolution found many supporters. Committees were formed, partly to stem the tide of political corruption, and partly to discuss the best methods of government. The members of the Popular Party, who had been the leading men in the old Volunteers, formed themselves into clubs which greatly influenced public opinion; of which the Whig Club in Dublin, and the Northern Whig Club in Belfast, were specially prominent. Both of them included among their members many historic personages: Lord Charlemont, Lord Moira, the Duke of Leinster, Grattan, Napper Tandy, John Philpot Curran, Wolfe Tone, and others. These clubs unsparingly exposed the evil system of the government; but the government, safe in its pensioned and corrupt majority, continued its course unchanged.

The Ulster Presbyterians were specially active and earnest in these movements. The anniversary of the taking of the Bastile, the great government prison in Paris, by the Revolutionists two years before, was celebrated in Belfast in July, 1791, by the Northern Whig Club, joined by all the Volunteers of the neighborhood,

in a great procession, with drums, banners, and flags, on which were depicted various scenes enacted at the Revolution. The celebration ended with a banquet, where such toasts were drunk as "The National Assembly of France," "The Rights of Man," etc., and where proper representation in Parliament, and the complete emancipation of the Catholics were demanded. There was nothing illegal in these proceedings, but they gave great uneasiness to the government, who, with the example of France before them, looked on all such movements with apprehension.

Theobald Wolfe Tone, a man of great determination, quite unselfish, and of remarkable persuasive power, was one of the most prominent leaders of public opinion in those times. Though a Protestant, he was appointed Secretary to the Catholic Committee in Dublin, which brought the Catholics into closer connection with the Presbyterians. In the same year he visited Belfast, and thinking the Northern Whig Club not sufficiently advanced, he founded, in October, the Society of United Irishmen, the members of which were chiefly Presbyterians. The objects of this society, which were quite legal, were: to unite people of all classes and religions in one great organization, this main idea being indicated in the very name —United Irishmen; to reform Parliament so as to break down the corrupting influence of the government; and to remove the grievances of all Irishmen of every religious persuasion. This last chiefly aimed at the repeal of the Penal Laws against Catholics, for the leaders believed that if all the people of the country were united, their demand for reform could not be resisted. Tone next formed a branch of the society in Dublin under the auspices of the Catholic Committee; James Napper Tandy, a Protestant shopkeeper in Dublin, was its secretary.

Yet with all this unrest and disturbance, business of every kind was extending, and the country was rapidly advancing in prosperity. This was due to several causes, of which the principal were: the removal of the most ruinous of the restrictions on trade; the relief of Catholics from their worst disabilities, which enabled them to take part, and invest their capital, in industries; and the restoration of the freedom of Parliament, which gave the authorities a free hand to develop the resources of the country.

Let us now interrupt the purely political history, in order to trace the advances made, and the checks suffered, by the Catholics, in their efforts to free themselves from their remaining hardships.

Chapter XXXVII

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION. 1792-1795

MORE than thirty years had elapsed since the Catholic Committee had been founded. Its original purpose, as we have seen, was to look after Catholic interests in general, and especially to obtain a relaxation or repeal of the Penal Laws. The members felt that this business gave them quite enough to do, and as a body they did not mix themselves up much in other political movements. They had no wish to come in conflict with the government, and they were not much influenced by the revolutionary ideas so prevalent at this time among the Presbyterians. Indeed it was only among the prosperous business Catholics of the towns that there appeared much political life of any kind. The great body of Catholics through the country had been during the whole of the century so depressed, and had been reduced to such a state of ignorance that they had hardly a thought or an opinion on anything beyond the necessaries of life, with a vague consciousness that they were suffering under wrongs which ought to be removed.

There were two parties in the Catholic Committee, the Aristocratic and the Democratic. The former included the Catholic nobility and the Catholic bishops: they looked with horror on the French Revolution and its excesses, and were inclined to be timid in agitating for their own emancipation. The Democratic party consisted chiefly of business men, of whom the ablest and most far-seeing was John Keogh, a Dublin merchant. These were for pressing their claims boldly, including the right to vote at elections, which the Aristocratic party wished to postpone to some future time. This question was eagerly and warmly discussed; and in order to clear themselves from even the suspicion of sympathy with revolutionary principles, sixty-four timid members of the Aristocratic party seceded from the committee.

The action of the democratic section had the approval of the general body of outside Catholics; and they carried their point, notwithstanding the defection of the aristocratic members.

On December 2, 1792, they convened a meeting of Catholic delegates from different parts of Ireland in the Tailors' Hall, a spacious building in Back Lane, Dublin—whence this assemblage is sometimes called the "Back Lane Parliament"—at which a petition to the king was prepared, asking for admission to all the rights of the constitution. It was signed by Dr. Troy, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, by Dr. Moylan, Bishop of Cork, and by all the country delegates. As they believed, with good reason, that the English Government was better disposed toward them than the Irish, they commissioned John Keogh and four other delegates to present the petition to the king direct, instead of following the usual course of sending it through the Irish authorities. On their way to England the delegates passed through Belfast, where they had a grand reception: the Presbyterian populace unyoked the horses from the carriage, and drew Keogh and his companions in triumph through the streets. On January 2, 1793, the petition was presented to His Majesty, who received it very graciously.

The wisdom of Keogh and his party was proved by what happened soon afterward. In the dangerous and uncertain state of things on the Continent, with the rapid spread of sympathy in Ireland for the Revolution, and while a war with France was quite probable, it was considered of great consequence that the Catholics should be well affected toward the government. Accordingly, on April 9, mainly through the influence of the English ministers, aided by the powerful advocacy of Grattan and his party, but much against the wishes of the Irish Government, a bill was passed through the Irish Parliament which granted the Catholics a substantial measure of relief. The franchise was restored to them, so that all who were Forty-shilling Freeholders had the right to vote for members of Parliament; and as since 1778 these freeholders had grown very numerous, this measure gave the Irish Catholics great political influence. Besides this important concession, they were permitted by the act to enter Trinity College, Dublin, and obtain degrees; almost all civil and military situations were opened to them; they could serve on juries and be justices of the peace, and the higher classes of Catholics were allowed to carry arms. They might open colleges to be affiliated with Trinity College, provided they were not exclusively for the education of Catholics. An attempt was made to insert a clause admitting them to Parliament, but this wise provision the Irish Government unhappily succeeded in defeating.

In order to have the benefit of the act it was necessary to take the Oath of Allegiance, which, however, any Catholic might take. But many disabilities still remained, the most serious of which was that no Catholic could sit in Parliament; neither could a Catholic be lord lieutenant, or lord chancellor, or a privy councilor, or a fellow of Trinity College, or a sheriff or sub-sheriff. Still the measure was a great relief, and the Catholics were very grateful for it; but its conciliatory effect was much marred by the bitterness with which Lord Chancellor Fitzgibbon spoke of his Catholic fellow-countrymen, though he dared not oppose the bill. On the other hand, in the same session two coercion acts were passed: the Convention Act against "unlawful assemblies," intended to prevent meetings of delegates such as the "Back Lane Parliament," as well as delegate meetings of the United Irishmen; and the Gunpowder Act to prevent the importation and sale of gunpowder and arms, and to give magistrates the power of searching for arms wherever and whenever they pleased, which applied to Protestants as well as Catholics. This last was intended as a precaution against the danger of disaffection in case of an invasion; for the French and English were by this time at war, and the dangerous sympathy of the United Irishmen for the French Revolutionary party was well known to the government.

The Society of United Irishmen in Belfast and Dublin so far had nothing illegal in it. Still the government kept a strict watch on these United Irishmen, as well as on the Catholic Committee, and all such associations, so as to be ready for prosecutions in case they should be found to transgress the law as it then stood.

At a meeting of United Irishmen held in Dublin in February, 1793, with the Hon. Simon Butler as chairman, and Oliver Bond, a Dublin merchant, as secretary, an address was adopted and circulated, boldly censuring the conduct of a committee of the House of Lords for having in an illegal manner conducted a secret inquiry into the proceedings of the Defenders. For this, Butler and Bond were sentenced by the committee, without any regular trial, to be imprisoned for six months and to pay a fine of 500*l.* each.

Archibald Hamilton Rowan, the son of a landed proprietor of Ulster, who had been conspicuous as a Volunteer, and was now a United Irishman, circulated an address to the Volunteers, written by Dr. Drennan, a well-known and very talented literary man, an Ulster Presbyterian, and the writer of many stirring national

ballads and addresses. For this Rowan was prosecuted, and was defended with great ability by Curran. He was convicted of a seditious libel, and sentenced to be imprisoned for two years, and to pay a fine of 500*l.* While Rowan was in prison an emissary from France, the Rev. William Jackson, a Protestant clergyman of Irish extraction, arrived in Ireland to sound the popular leaders about a French invasion. He had with him a London attorney named Cockayne, to whom he had confided the object of his mission; but Cockayne was really a spy paid by the English Government. These two had interviews with the leading United Irishmen in Dublin—Wolfe Tone, Leonard Mac Nally, Hamilton Rowan, then in the Dublin Newgate prison, and others. Mac Nally was a Dublin attorney, who managed the legal business of the United Irishmen; he was trusted by them with their innermost secrets, and lived and died in their friendship and confidence, but long after his death it was discovered that he was all the time a spy in government pay. Tone drew out a report on the state of Ireland for Jackson, who kept a copy of it in Rowan's handwriting.

When the government, who knew through Cockayne all that was going on, thought matters sufficiently ripe, they arrested Jackson on April 28, 1794. Rowan, knowing that his handwriting would betray him, contrived to escape on May 1, and although a reward of 1500*l.* was offered for his arrest, he made his way to France and thence to America. On April 23 in the following year Jackson was tried and convicted of treason on the evidence of Cockayne. He had managed, however, to take a dose of arsenic before coming into court, and dropped dead in the dock.

But now happened an event which gave the Catholics hopes of complete emancipation. Toward the end of 1794 people's minds became greatly excited in Ireland when it became known that Pitt had determined to adopt a policy of conciliation, to drop coercion, and to remove all the remaining restrictions against Catholics. With these objects in view Lord Westmoreland was recalled, and Earl Fitzwilliam, a just, liberal, and enlightened man, having large estates in Ireland, came over as lord lieutenant on January 4, with full authority and with the firm determination, which he did not conceal, to completely emancipate the Catholics; and they gave him an enthusiastic reception, for his intentions had become known. The proposed measure would, as Pitt believed, attach the body of the Catholics to the empire, a thing of vital importance; for the

French were at this time everywhere victorious on the Continent, and there were fears of an invasion.

Fitzwilliam at once applied himself to the work entrusted to him. He removed Edward Cooke from the post of under-secretary, on a pension of 1200*l.* a year; and also John Beresford, the commissioner of customs, whose relatives held most of the lucrative offices of his department, and who retired on full pay. Both of these had been identified with the system Lord Fitzwilliam came to break up. In the joy of the good news, Parliament, on the motion of Grattan, voted 200,000*l.* for the expenses of the navy in the war now going on with France, and 20,000 men for the army. The whole country was in a state of excitement; innumerable petitions poured in from Catholics and Protestants alike; and it is interesting to note that one of the strongest addresses in favor of the intended measure came from the purely Protestant corporation of Derry, the descendants of the very men who had so valiantly defended the city a century before against the army of the Catholic King James.

As the first direct move, Grattan, having previously arranged the matter with the viceroy, brought in a bill, on February 12, for the admission of Catholics to Parliament; and there was almost perfect agreement on the question in the whole house. But an unexpected obstacle arose which disconcerted all the plans for reform, and dashed the hopes of the country. A small mischievous clique at the Castle, led by Fitzgibbon, Beresford, and Cooke, took determined steps to defeat the bill. Beresford went to England and had an interview with the king, to whom he made bitter complaints, while Fitzgibbon submitted an elaborate statement to show that His Majesty could not consent to Emancipation without breaking the coronation oath. Between them they seem to have persuaded the king that the Protestant religion was in danger. On the other hand, it would appear that Pitt and the rest of the English Cabinet permitted themselves to be intimidated by Beresford and Cooke.

While all this was going on in England, Fitzwilliam was allowed to proceed openly with the measure in Dublin; and when the whole country was in a flutter of expectation, and after the large supplies mentioned above had been voted, the English minister turned right round; the king refused his consent, without which no measure could pass; orders were sent to stop the bill, and the whole matter came to an end. Emancipation was abandoned, Beresford was restored. and the old policy of hostility to Catholics

was resumed. Earl Fitzwilliam was recalled and left Ireland on March 25. He was escorted by sorrowing crowds to the water side, and his coach was drawn along by some of the leading citizens, while the shops were closed and the city put on the appearance of mourning: mourning and gloom with good reason, for by that fatal blow the joyous loyalty of the whole country was suddenly changed to sullen distrust, discontent, and disloyalty. And as if to show in the clearest way that the government approved of what had been done, Fitzgibbon, one of the chief agents in bringing about the withdrawal of the bill, was immediately afterward made Earl of Clare. That cruel disappointment spread sorrow and indignation all over the country, not only among the Catholics, but also among the Protestants of the two parties—the moderates led by Grattan and the more advanced represented by the United Irishmen; and from whatever causes it may have arisen, it was in a great measure answerable for the tremendous evils that followed.

Later on in this same year, under Fitzwilliam's successor, Lord Camden, a measure was passed of great importance to the Catholics of Ireland. Catholic young men who wished to become priests had long been in the habit of going to France for their education, as they had no opportunity for study at home. The government were well aware of this; and as they feared that the young priests, after so long a residence in France, might come back imbued with republican or revolutionary ideas, they founded the college of Maynooth for the education of the Catholic clergy, and endowed it with an annual grant of 8000*l.*

Chapter XXXVIII

RIOT, AND TONE'S INVASION. 1795-1797

GLOOM and silence had marked the departure of Lord Fitzwilliam. The arrival of his successor, Lord Camden, on March 31, 1795, was signalized by a furious riot in the streets of Dublin; several houses belonging to unpopular members of the government were attacked; the military had to be called out, and two of the mob were killed. The people all over the country became exasperated and desperate, and hoping for foreign aid, their leaders came to the fatal determination to attempt revolution and the establishment of a republic. The United Irishmen banded themselves as a secret, oath-bound, and of course illegal society; and their republican principles were spreading fast among the Catholics, but the government were kept well informed of their proceedings through Leonard Mac Nally and others within their body.

The great majority of the leaders of the United Irishmen were Protestants, who were all for Catholic Emancipation. But in many parts of Ulster there was, all along, bitter strife between the lower classes of Catholics and Protestants; strife and mutual hatred which had been kept up since the time of the Plantation nearly two centuries before. Tone, himself a Protestant, had done all in his power to bring them to friendly union and coöperation, but in vain; religious animosity was too strong for him. At last on September 21, 1795, the Defenders and the Peep-o'-day Boys fought a regular battle at a village called the Diamond in Armagh. The Peep-o'-day Boys, though inferior in number, were better armed, for the others could not keep arms unless by stealth, and the Defenders were routed with a loss of twenty or thirty killed.

The Protestants, chiefly of the Established Church, next, as a set-off against the Defenders, formed a new secret oath-bound society called Orangemen, with the openly expressed intention to expel all Catholics from Ulster: but it is to be observed that the oath of this society was subsequently abolished. The Catholics were now, for some years, attacked and persecuted by the Protestant

peasantry in many of the Ulster counties, and suffered terribly in person and property. The Protestant magistrates and gentry held meetings and endeavored to protect them, but with little success; yet they gave some compensation to many Catholics whose houses were wrecked. Great numbers of inoffensive industrious Catholics were driven altogether out of the province, and took refuge in Connaught, which circumstance again extended the mischief—for they inspired the people among whom they settled with their own bitter feelings. Things became at last so intolerable that General Craddock was sent into Ulster with the military to restore order, but so close a watch was kept on his movements that he found it almost impossible to arrest the bands of armed Orangemen, and the evil work still went on. The more respectable members of the Orange body dissociated themselves from these proceedings, and declared that the worst of the outrages were committed by bodies of marauders who, though adopting the name, were not Orangemen at all.

The Defenders had spread rapidly from Ulster into various parts of the middle and west of Ireland, and now, like the Whiteboys, they applied themselves to redressing grievances of various kinds; and there were continual nightly disturbances, so that people's minds all over the country were kept in a state of painful anxiety. General Henry Luttrell, Lord Carhampton, was sent to Connaught to repress them; but his action and the action of those who aided him held up an evil example to the people, for it was almost as lawless as the proceedings of the Defenders themselves. He seized all who were in the jails awaiting trial, and the magistrates, imitating him, arrested numbers of the peasants on the roadsides; and all, both prisoners and peasants, were, without any trial, sent off to serve in the navy. Most of these men never saw their families again,. and the transaction rankled fearfully among the people.

Meantime the society of United Irishmen spread, until finally it numbered 500,000. There were now many Catholics among them, for the Defenders, on the invitation of the United Irish leaders, joined the ranks in large numbers. But to the last the confederacy was mainly Protestant, and the members were far more numerous and active in Ulster than elsewhere. In 1795 Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a man of most estimable character, brother of the Duke of Leinster, joined them. As a major in the British army

he had served with credit in the American War, and on his return he entered the Irish Parliament as an earnest supporter of reform. The government dismissed him from his post in the army for openly expressing sympathy with the French Revolution. In the end of 1796 the society was joined by Thomas Addis Emmet, elder brother of Robert Emmet, by Arthur O'Connor, formerly member of Parliament for Philipstown, and by Dr. William J. MacNevin of Dublin, one of the few Catholics among the leaders.

Tone, who had been obliged to leave Ireland some time before, had been arranging in Paris for a French invasion, the object of which was to make Ireland an independent republic. In May, 1796, Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor went to Hamburg, and O'Connor had an interview with General Hoche. The matter was at last arranged. On December 15 a fleet of 43 ships of war with 15,000 troops and 45,000 stands of arms, sailed from Brest for Ireland under General Hoche. General Grouchy was second in command, and with him sailed Theobald Wolfe Tone as adjutant-general. The authorities were badly prepared to repel the attack, but it was repelled without their intervention. The ships were dispersed by foul winds and fogs, and only sixteen that had kept together entered Bantry Bay. Here they waited in vain for General Hoche, whose vessel had been separated from the fleet by the storm. But the wild weather continued—tempest and snow—and at the end of a week, Hoche not having come up, they cut their cables and returned to France.

Next came a stringent Insurrection Act. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, which suspension gave the magistrates the power to arrest anyone they pleased. General Lake got command of the army in Ulster, and he proclaimed martial law, which placed the people entirely at the mercy of the military. He arrested two committees of United Irishmen sitting in Belfast, and seized their papers, which disclosed secrets of great importance; and he attempted to disarm all Ulster, seizing great numbers of muskets, cannons, and pikes. But he did not succeed in taking all: in a little time not a gun or a pike was to be found in any house, for they were hidden in bogs and hedges where the owners could find them at any moment. For publishing a violent address, Arthur O'Connor was arrested and imprisoned in Dublin, and the jails all over the country were filled with people who had been taken up on suspicion on the evidence of spies.

The yeomanry were called out; militia regiments were sent over from England; and military, yeomanry, and militia were let loose on the people with little or no restraint. The soldiers were scattered through the country in small parties, billeted and living in free quarters on the peasantry; there was no discipline; and they did what they pleased without waiting for orders. Fearful brutalities were perpetrated, and thousands of peaceable people were driven in desperation to join the ranks of the United Irishmen.

For a good part of 1797 Ulster was really in rebellion, though no battles were fought; the United Irishmen spread everywhere, and practically had the whole province in subjection. Some, calling themselves by the name, committed many terrible outrages; but the perpetrators of these were individuals and small parties under no control, and they were denounced by the responsible United Irish leaders, just as the evil-doers on the other side were denounced by the leaders of the Orange party. What greatly added to the horror of the situation in the north was the bitter animosity between the lower classes of Protestants and Catholics, each side committing frightful cruelties on the others at every opportunity. During the whole of this time assurances came from respectable classes of people all over the country, especially from Ulster, that the concession of Parliament Reform, Catholic Emancipation, and a satisfactory arrangement about tithes would restore quietness. In the month of May Ponsonby and Grattan brought that matter before Parliament, and Grattan produced a declaration of 900 representative Ulstermen of substance and position, a large proportion of them leading United Irishmen, that if these concessions were granted all agitation would cease. But though they earnestly urged the adoption of these reasonable healing measures, the government voted them down four to one. Whereupon Grattan and the other leading members of his party, despairing of doing any good, and as a protest against the conduct of the government, withdrew from Parliament.

There was yet another abortive attempt at invasion. A Dutch fleet with 15,000 men commanded by Admiral de Winter prepared to sail for Ireland in July, but again the weather interfered; they were delayed and when at length they sailed. the fleet was utterly defeated at Camperdown by Admiral Duncan.

Chapter XXXIX

THE REBELLION OF 1798

BELIEVING it impossible to bring about reform of any kind by peaceable means, the United Irish leaders, in an evil hour, determined on open rebellion; but the government were kept well informed by spies of their secret proceedings, and bided their time till things were ripe for a swoop. They knew that May 23 had been fixed as the day of rising. On March 12, 1798, Major Swan, a magistrate, acting on the information of Thomas Reynolds, arrested Oliver Bond and fourteen other delegates assembled in Bond's house in Bridge Street, Dublin, arranging the plan of rebellion, and seized all their papers. On the same day several other leaders were arrested in their homes.

A reward of 1000*l.* was offered for the apprehension of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the moving spirit of the confederacy. After some time the authorities received information from Francis Higgins—commonly known as the "Sham Squire"—that he was concealed in the house of Nicholas Murphy, a feather merchant of Thomas Street, Dublin. Lord Edward was lying ill in bed, when Major Swan, Yeomanry Captain Ryan, and a soldier, entered the room; but he drew a dagger and struggled desperately, wounding Swan and Ryan. Major Sirr, who had accompanied the party, now rushed in with half a dozen soldiers, and taking aim, shot Lord Edward in the shoulder, who was then overpowered and taken prisoner. But on June 4 he died of his wound while in prison, at the age of thirty-two. On May 21 two brothers, Henry and John Sheares, barristers, members of the Dublin directory of the United Irishmen, were arrested. They were convicted on July 12, and hanged two days afterward. A reprieve for Henry came too late—five minutes after the execution.

The rising took place early in the morning of May 24. It was only partial: confined chiefly to the counties of Kildare, Wicklow, and Wexford; and there were some slight attempts in Carlow, Queen's County, Meath, and County Dublin. But Dublin

city did not rise, for it had been placed under martial law, and almost all of the leaders there had been arrested. The insurrection was quite premature, and the people were almost without arms, without discipline, plan, or leaders. On May 26 a body of 4000 insurgents were defeated on the hill of Tara. On Whitsunday the 27th the rising broke out in Wexford. There, as well as in some of the neighboring counties, the rebellion assumed a sectarian character which it had not elsewhere; the rebels were nearly all Roman Catholics, though many of their leaders were Protestants. This Wexford rising was not the result of premeditation or of any concert with the Dublin directory of the United Irishmen, for the society had not made much headway among the quiet industrious peasants of that county, who were chiefly descendants of English colonists. Though there was a good deal of disaffection among them, chiefly caused by alarming rumors of intended massacres, they did not want to rise. They were driven to rebellion simply by the terrible barbarities of the military, the yeomen, and more especially the North Cork militia; they rose in desperation without any plan or any idea of what they were to do, and in their vengeful fury they committed many terrible outrages on the Protestant loyalist inhabitants, in blind retaliation for the far worse excesses of the militia.

Father John Murphy, parish priest of Kilcormick near Ferns, finding his little chapel of Boleyvogue burned by the yeomen, took the lead of the rebels. On May 27 the peasantry defeated and annihilated a large party of the North Cork militia on the Hill of Oulart, near Enniscorthy. Having captured 800 stands of arms, they next marched on Enniscorthy; and by the stratagem of driving a herd of bullocks before them to break the ranks of the military, they took the town after a struggle of four hours, on which the garrison and the Protestant inhabitants fled to Wexford—fifteen miles off. About the same time Gorey was abandoned by its garrison, who retreated to Arklow.

At the end of May the insurgents fixed their chief encampment on Vinegar Hill, an eminence rising over Enniscorthy, at the opposite side of the Slaney. While the camp lay here, a number of Protestants, brought in from the surrounding country, were confined in an old windmill on the summit of the hill, many of whom, after being subjected day by day to some sort of trial, were put to death. On May 30 a detachment of military was attacked and

destroyed at the Three Rocks, four miles from the town of Wexford. The insurgents now advanced toward Wexford, but the garrison, consisting chiefly of the North Cork militia, did not wait to be attacked—they marched away, and while retreating they burned and pillaged the houses and shot the peasantry wherever they met them. The exultant rebels having taken possession of Wexford, drank and feasted and plundered, but beyond this there was little outrage, with one notable exception. While they occupied the town, a fellow named Dixon with a rabble of men from outside the town broken open the jail and brought a number of the prisoners to the bridge, and after a mock trial began to kill them one by one. A number, variously stated from forty to ninety, had been murdered, and another batch were brought out, when, according to contemporary accounts, a young priest, Father Corrin, returning from some parochial duties, and seeing how things stood, rushed in at the risk of his life and commanded the executioners to their knees. Down they knelt instinctively, when in a loud voice he dictated a prayer which they repeated after him—that God might show to them the same mercy that they were about to show to the prisoners, which so awed and terrified them that they immediately stopped the executions. Dixon probably escaped arrest, for he is not heard of again.

A Protestant gentleman named Bagenal Harvey, who had been seized by government on suspicion and imprisoned in Wexford jail, was released by the insurgent peasantry and made their general. Besides the principal encampment on Vinegar Hill, the rebels had two others. From Carrigroe, on June 1, a large body of them marched on Gorey, but they were routed just as they approached the town by a party of yeomen under Lieutenant Elliott. They fared better, however, in the next encounter, for General Loftus with 1500 men was defeated while marching to attack them, and this placed Gorey in their hands.

From Vinegar Hill they marched on Newtownbarry on June 2 and took the town, but dispersing to drink and to plunder, they were attacked in turn by the soldiers whom they had driven out, and routed with a loss of 400. The same thing, but on a much larger scale, happened at New Ross on June 5. The rebels marched from Carrickbyrne, and attacking the town with great bravery in the early morning, drove the military under General Johnson from the streets out over the bridge. But there was no discipline; they fell

to drink, and the soldiers returned twice and were twice repulsed. But still the drinking went on, and late in the evening the military returned once more, and this time succeeded in expelling the rebels. The fighting had continued with little intermission for ten hours, during which the troops lost 300 killed, among whom was Lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin militia, better known in this book as Luke Gardiner, while the loss of the peasantry was two or three thousand. Although the rebels ultimately lost the day at New Ross, through drink and disorder, the conspicuous bravery and determination they had shown caused great apprehension among the authorities in Dublin, and produced a feeling of grave doubt as to the ultimate result in case the rebellion should spread.

In the evening of the day of the battle of New Ross, some fugitive rebels from the town broke into Scullabogue House at the foot of Carrickbyrne Hill, where a crowd of loyalist prisoners, nearly all Protestants, but with some few Catholics, were confined, and pretending they had orders from Harvey, which they had not, brought forth thirty-seven of the prisoners and murdered them. Then setting fire to a barn in which the others were locked up—between one and two hundred—they burned them all to death. No recognized leader was present at this barbarous massacre: it was the work of an irresponsible rabble.

The rebels now prepared to march on Dublin, but Major-General Needham, with 1600 men, garrisoned Arklow on the coast, through which the insurgent army would have to pass. On June 9 they attacked the town with great determination, and there was a desperate fight, in which the cavalry were at first driven back, so that Needham would have retreated but for the bravery and firmness of one of his officers, Colonel Skerrett. Late in the evening, the death of Father Michael Murphy, who was killed by a cannon ball, so disheartened his men that they gave way and abandoned the march to Dublin.

The encampment on Vinegar Hill was now the chief rebel station, and General Lake, the commander in chief of the military, organized an attack on it with 20,000 men, who were to approach simultaneously in several divisions from different points. All the divisions arrived in proper time on the morning of June 21, except that of General Needham, which for some reason did not come up till the fighting was all over. A heavy fire of grape and musketry did great execution on the insurgent army, who though almost

without ammunition, maintained the fight for an hour and a half, when they had to give way. The space intended for General Needham's division lay open to the south, and through this opening—"Needham's Gap," as they called it—they escaped with comparatively trifling loss, and made their way to Wexford.

This was the last considerable action of the Wexford rebellion; in face of the overwhelming odds against them the rebels lost heart and there was very little more fighting. Wexford was evacuated and was at once occupied by General Lake. Many of the leaders were now arrested, tried by court-martial, and hanged, among them Bagenal Harvey, Mr. Grogan of Johnstown, Matthew Keogh, and Father John Murphy, though Lake had been made aware that several of them had successfully exerted themselves to prevent outrage. The rebellion here was practically at an end; but the whole country was now at the mercy of the yeomanry and the militia, who perpetrated many atrocities on the peasantry. They made hardly any distinction, killing everyone they met: guilty and innocent, rebel and loyalist, men and women, all alike were consigned to the same fate, while on the other side, straggling bands of rebels traversed the country free of all restraint, and committed many outrages in retaliation for those of the yeomanry.

By some misunderstanding the outbreak of the rebellion in the north was delayed. The Antrim insurgents under Henry Joy McCracken attacked and took the town of Antrim on June 7, but the military, returning with reinforcements, recovered the town after a stubborn fight. McCracken was taken and hanged on the 17th of the same month. In Down the rebels, under Henry Munro, captured Saintfield, and encamped in Lord Moira's demesne near Ballynahinch; but on June 14 they were attacked by Generals Nugent and Barber, and defeated after a very obstinate fight—commonly known as the battle of Ballynahinch. Munro escaped, but was soon after captured, convicted in court-martial, and hanged at his own door.

Lord Cornwallis, a humane and distinguished man, was appointed lord lieutenant on June 14, with supreme military command. He endeavored to restore quiet; and his first step was an attempt to stop the dreadful cruelties now committed by the soldiers and militia all over the country; but in spite of everything he could do these outrages continued for several months. Had he been in command from the beginning, instead of the harsh and injudicious

General Lake, it is probable that the rebellion would have been suppressed with not a tithe of the bloodshed on either side.

After the rebellion had been crushed a small French force of about a thousand men under General Humbert landed at Killala in Mayo on August 22, 1798, and took possession of the town. Two Irishmen accompanied Humbert, Bartholomew Teeling and Matthew Tone, brother of Theobald Wolfe Tone. But as there was no sign of popular rising, this little force, having first defeated the militia, and after some further skirmishing against vastly superior numbers, surrendered to Lord Cornwallis, and were sent back to France, all except Tone and Teeling, who were tried and hanged. This partial expedition was followed by another under Admiral Bompart: One 74-gun ship named the *Hoche,* with eight frigates and 3000 men under General Hardi, among whom was Theobald Wolfe Tone, sailed from Brest on September 22. The *Hoche* and three others arrived off Lough Swilly, where they were encountered by a British squadron under Sir John Borlase Warren. There was a terrible fight of six hours, during which the *Hoche* sustained the chief force of the attack till she became a helpless wreck and had to surrender. Tone fought with desperation, courting but escaping death. After the surrender he was recognized and sent in irons to Dublin, where he was tried by court-martial and condemned to be hanged. He earnestly begged to be shot, not hanged, on the plea that he was a French officer; but his petition was rejected. On the morning fixed for the execution he cut his throat with a penknife. Meantime Curran, in a masterly speech, succeeded on legal grounds in staying the execution for further argument, but Tone died from his self-inflicted wound on November 19, 1798. In the numerous trials during and after the rebellion Curran was always engaged on the side of the prisoners, and though he did not often succeed in having them released, his brilliant and fearless speeches were wonderful efforts of genius.

Chapter XL

THE UNION. 1799-1803

IN the opinion of the English prime minister, William Pitt, the course of events for the last few years in Ireland had rendered the time opportune for his long cherished project of a Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland: that the Irish Parliament should be abolished, and that there should be only one Parliament for both countries. It was on all hands admitted that this could not be accomplished unless the Irish Parliament willed it; and now that the rebellion was all over, he began to make carefully planned arrangements to secure a majority in favor of the Union: for he well knew that there would be determined opposition in Ireland. On January 22, 1799, the Marquis of Cornwallis being lord lieutenant and Lord Castlereagh chief secretary, the project of the Union was, by Pitt's direction, indirectly referred to in the Irish Parliament, in the speech from the throne; but the opposition at once took the matter up, and they were joined by many who had hitherto been supporters of the government, among others John Foster, the speaker; Sir John Parnell, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Prime Sergeant Fitzgerald, and Sir Jonah Barrington: all fearing the loss of their Parliament. They moved "that the undoubted birthright of the people of Ireland, a resident and independent legislature, should be maintained"; and after an excited debate of twenty-two hours, the votes were equally divided, which was considered a defeat for the government. Subsequently the opposition succeeded in having the clause referring to the Union altogether struck out of the speech, which meant that they refused even to consider the question. Parnell and Fitzgerald were soon afterward dismissed from their offices. It is to be observed that in these divisions nearly all those who voted for Union were office-holders or pensioners of the government; while the great majority of those who voted against it were persons who had been freely elected.

In February the scheme was brought forward in the English

Parliament by Pitt, and approved. In Ireland elaborate preparations were made to carry it in the next session. Persons holding offices who showed themselves adverse to the measure were dismissed, or brought round by threats of dismissal. The Irish Government, as we have seen, had been all along corrupt; but now—still under outside orders—it went far beyond anything ever experienced before. Those who had the disposal of seats were in great alarm; for if the Union was carried the 300 members would have to be reduced to a third, so that about 200 constituencies would be disfranchised. The opposition of these proprietors was bought off by direct money payments; about 15,000*l.* was paid for each borough, and several proprietors who had each a number of seats at their disposal received very large sums. The entire amount paid for the whole of the "rotten" or "pocket" boroughs as they were called, was 1,260,000*l.*

To purchase the votes of individual members, and the favor of certain influential outsiders, twenty-eight persons were created peers, and thirty-two of those already peers were promoted; and there were besides, great numbers of bribes in the shape of pensions, judgeships, baronetcies, preferments, government situations, and direct cash. All this was done with scarcely an attempt at concealment. The chief managers of the whole business under Pitt were Lord Cornwallis, Lord Castlereagh, and Lord Clare (John Fitzgibbon); but Cornwallis, though quite in favor of the measure, expressed the utmost abhorrence at being forced to take a part in such transactions. So general was the feeling against the Union, and so deep was the indignation against the means employed to bring it about, that he expressed his belief that half the majority who voted for it would be delighted if they were defeated: yet he held on to his post till the measure was carried through. But though the majority in favor of Union was secured by gross and illegal corruption, it must not be imagined that all who voted for it were corrupt; for there were some who honestly believed it was the best course.

The feeling against it extended even to the yeomanry, the very men who had taken such a prominent part in putting down the rebellion; and it was feared that they might turn out to resist it with arms in their hands. But the prime movers were determined; and in order to keep peace English soldiers were sent in great numbers so that the country was now occupied by a large army. The

session opened on January 15, the last meeting of the Irish Parliament. Grattan, knowing what was coming, had himself elected member for Wicklow; and though very ill, he rose from his bed and took his seat dressed in the uniform of the Volunteers. Dublin was in a state of fearful excitement. The streets were filled with dismayed and sorrow-stricken crowds, but there were plenty of cavalry to keep them within bounds. Lord Castlereagh brought forward the motion in the Commons. The anti-Unionists opposed the project most determinedly; Grattan, worn with sickness, pleaded with all his old fiery eloquence. Sir John Parnell demanded that there should be a dissolution, and that a new Parliament should be called to determine this great question, so that the opinion of the country might be obtained, as is usually done when measures of great importance are proposed; but the Unionist leaders carried everything. There were many motions: on the first the government had 158 against 115: and in the others there were corresponding majorities; but the minority, who could not be bought over by bribes, stood firm and struggled vainly to the last. Despite all their efforts the bill was finally carried in the Commons. It was next passed in the House of Lords, by a majority of nearly three to one, after which the royal assent was given on August 1, and the act came into force on January 1, 1801.

The main provisions of the Act of Union were these: the two kingdoms to be henceforward one—"the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland"; the Irish representation in the united Parliament to be one hundred members in the House of Commons, and thirty-two peers (of whom four were to be spiritual peers, *i. e.*, Protestant bishops) in the House of Lords; the twenty-eight lay peers to be elected by all the Irish peers, and the four bishops to be selected in rotation; the same regulations as to trade and commerce to apply to all subjects of the United Kingdom; the Irish Established Church to be continued forever, and to be united with that of England; Ireland to contribute two-seventeenths to the expenditure of the United Kingdom, for twenty years, when new arrangements would be made; each of the two countries to retain its own national debt as then existing, but all future debts contracted to be joint debts.

Three years after the Union there was one other attempt at insurrection, which, however, was confined to Dublin. Several of the leaders of the United Irishmen were at this time in Paris, and

as they had some reason to expect aid from Napoleon, they projected a general rising in Ireland. One of their body, Robert Emmet, a gifted, earnest, noble-minded young man, twenty-four years of age, returned to Dublin in 1802, to carry out the arrangements, and expended his whole private fortune in secretly manufacturing pikes and other arms.

His plan was to attack Dublin Castle and the Pigeon House Fort; and he had intended that the insurrection should take place in August, 1803, by which time he calculated the invasion from France would come off, but an accidental explosion in one of his depots precipitated matters. News came in that the military were approaching; whereupon, in desperation, he sallied from his depot in Marshalsea Lane, into Thomas Street and toward the castle, with about 100 men. The city was soon in an uproar; disorderly crowds gathered in the streets, and some stragglers, bent on mischief and beyond all restraint, began outrages. Meeting the chief justice, Lord Kilwarden, a good man and a humane judge, they dragged him from his coach and murdered him. When news of this outrage and others was brought to Emmet, he was filled with horror, and attempted in vain to quell the mob. Seeing that the attempt on the castle was hopeless he fled to Rathfarnham, and might have escaped; but he insisted on remaining to take leave of Sarah Curran, daughter of John Philpot Curran, and to whom he was secretly engaged to be married. He was arrested by Major Sirr on August 25 at a house in Harold's Cross, and soon after was tried and convicted, making a short speech of great power in the dock. On the next day, September 20, 1803, he was hanged in Thomas Street.

Chapter XLI

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION. 1803-1829

IF the Irish Roman Catholics had actively opposed the Union, in all probability it could not have been carried; for as Lord Cornwallis afterward declared, they "had it in their power to have frustrated the views of the government and throw the country into the utmost confusion." Accordingly Pitt had at first intended to include Catholic Emancipation in the articles of Union, an intention afterward unhappily abandoned. But in order to lessen the hostility of the Catholics, they were led to believe, by the leading members of the Irish Government, on Pitt's suggestion, that Emancipation would immediately follow the Union. Through these representations many of the leading Catholics, both lay and ecclesiastical, were induced to express themselves in favor of the measure, and the great body held back from active opposition. Thus the Catholics were kept out of the way and the Union was carried. And now they naturally looked for the fulfillment of the promise, but they looked in vain, for the government showed not the least disposition to move in the matter. It is known that on the appointment of Lord Cornwallis as lord lieutenant, the king had written to Pitt to say that he would not consent to Emancipation, as he considered it would be a breach of his coronation oath, and this is commonly assigned as the chief reason why the question was dropped. There is scarce a doubt, however, that if Pitt had been earnest in the matter he could have brought the king to yield, but he never made any real effort. For twenty-nine years Emancipation was withheld; and when it came at last, the concession was brought about, as we shall see, by circumstances quite independent of representations and promises.

The Catholics, however, never abandoned their hope; and a small section of them, including a few bishops, agreed, as an inducement for the government to grant Emancipation, that the Crown should have a veto in the appointment of bishops: that is to say, when a person had been selected by the Irish ecclesiastical authori-

ties, his name should be submitted to the king, and if the king objected another was to be chosen. The general body of Catholics, clergy and people, knew nothing of all this, but the matter was made public when, in 1808, a petition for Catholic Relief was presented to Parliament by Grattan and some others, who, on the authority of two leading Irish Catholics, openly offered to accept the veto in case Emancipation was granted. Whereupon the clergy and people generally repudiated it, the bishops formally condemned it, and besides all this, the government, even with this offer before them, refused to entertain the petition. Nevertheless the veto question continued to be discussed in Ireland for some years, and caused considerable divergence of opinion among Catholics; the Irish aristocracy were generally in favor of it, but those who opposed it, led by O'Connell, ultimately prevailed.

Soon after the Union, Grattan, the greatest and noblest of all the Protestant advocates of Catholic rights, entered the imperial Parliament, and never lost an opportunity of pleading for Emancipation. Toward the end of 1819, while residing at Tinnehinch, his health rapidly declined; and he determined to make one last effort for his Catholic fellow-countrymen. He set out for the House of Commons, but never reached it; and he died in London, speaking of Ireland with his latest breath.

During the later years of Grattan's career another great man was beginning to come to the front, before whose genius all the obstacles to Catholic Emancipation ultimately went down. Daniel O'Connell, afterward familiarly called "The Liberator," was born at Carhan, beside Cahersiveen, in Kerry, on August 6, 1775, and was educated partly in Ireland and partly in France. He was called to the bar in 1798, and at once made his mark as a successful advocate. About the year 1810 he began to take a prominent part in public questions, and before long became the acknowledged leader of the Irish Catholics. Thenceforward, till the time of his death, he was the chief figure in Irish political history, and was one of the greatest popular leaders the world ever saw.

It may be said that O'Connell founded the system of peaceful, persevering, popular agitation against political grievances—keeping strictly within the law. In all his labors, and more especially during the agitation for Emancipation, he was ably seconded by Richard Lalor Sheil, who was almost as great an orator as O'Connell himself.

The old Catholic Committee had gradually died out and O'Connell and Sheil founded the "Catholic Association," which was the principal agency that ultimately enabled them to achieve Emancipation. The expenses were defrayed chiefly by a subscription from the people, of one penny a week, which was called Catholic Rent: and the association soon spread through all Ireland. This movement, of which O'Connell and Sheil were the mainsprings all through, was the means of spreading broadcast a free press and of creating healthful public opinion. The government viewed the new Association with jealousy and alarm, and an act of Parliament was passed in 1825 to put it down; but O'Connel' who took great care never to have the law broken, contrived an ingenious plan by which the act was evaded, and the association went on as before. In Waterford and several other places, by means of the perfect organization of this association, Protestant members favorable to Emancipation were returned, the forty-shilling free-holders voting for them; for as these tenants had leases for life they were in a great measure independent of the landlords, and successfully resisted their influence.

An oath similar to that framed in 1692 to exclude Irish Catholics from Parliament was at this period, and had been for a long time previously, in force in the Parliament in England, so that although there was nothing to prevent a Catholic being elected, he could not enter the House as member, since no Catholic could take this oath. It had been recommended by the veteran John Keogh that some Catholic should be elected member, and should present himself at Westminster and be excluded by the oath, so that the absurdity and hardship of letting a constituency remain altogether without a member because the person elected refused to take an oath that his own religion was false, should be brought home to the people of the empire. Keogh believed that this would lead to Emancipation. A vacancy now (1828) occurred in Clare, as the sitting member, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, having accepted the office of president of the Board of Trade, had to seek reëlection. O'Connell determined to oppose him, so as to bring the matter to a test. His address to the people of Clare aroused extraordinary enthusiasm, and notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the landlords, he was returned by an immense majority.

This election aroused sympathy everywhere in England for the Catholics, so that the government were alarmed, and they became

still more so when they found that the branches of the association were preparing to return Catholic members all through Ireland. Wellington and Peel, forced by public opinion, gave way, being now convinced that Emancipation could no longer be withheld with safety. Peel introduced into the Commons a bill for the Emancipation of the Catholics. After several days' stormy debate the third reading was carried on March 30. The debate in the Lords was even more violent than in the Commons. But Wellington ended the matter by declaring that they should choose either of the two alternatives, Emancipation or civil war. The bill passed the third reading, after a long debate and much bitter opposition, and received the royal assent on April 13, 1829.

After the bill had become law, O'Connell presented himself at the bar of the House for the first time since his election to claim his seat, knowing well what would happen. According to the terms of the Emancipation Act it was only those elected for April 13 that came under the new oath: a clause designedly inserted by Peel in order to put O'Connell to the trouble and expense of another election. The old oath was put into his hand; and looking at it for a few seconds he said: "I see here one assertion as to a matter of fact which I know to be untrue; I see a second as to a matter of opinion which I believe to be untrue. I therefore refuse to take this oath": after which he withdrew. Another writ was issued for Clare, and he was returned unopposed.

By this Emancipation Act a new oath was framed which Catholics might take. The act therefore admitted Catholics to the right of being members of Parliament in either House. It admitted them also to all civil and military offices, with three exceptions: those of regent, lord lieutenant, and lord chancellor.

The act contained one fatal provision which O'Connell had to submit to; it raised the franchise in Ireland to 10*l.*, though in England the qualification remained at the limit of forty shillings: this disfranchised all the forty-shilling freehold voters, who constituted the main strength of the Catholic party.

Several influences had been for years at work to soften the feelings of England toward Irish Roman Catholics, so as to prepare the way for Emancipation; among the chief of which were the writings of Thomas Moore. Though Grattan's impassioned pleading had brought the claims of his country vividly before the English House of Commons, Moore's "Irish Melodies"—beautiful

1829

words to beautiful music—were, it may be said, the first clear gentle voice heard across the sea directly from the Irish Catholics themselves. These songs were read and sung with delight all over England, and they sank deeply into the hearts of the English people. But there still remained, especially among the ruling classes, much hostility, and a widespread determination to resist further concession. To O'Connell is due the credit of breaking down the opposition of Parliament, and of carrying Emancipation, but he was faithfully and ably seconded by Richard Lalor Sheil.

Chapter XLII

AFTERMATH OF EMANCIPATION. 1829-1847

AFTER Emancipation the way was opened to other reforms beneficial to the Catholics. For many years previous to this the government had been giving money to support schools for elementary education all through Ireland. But they were suitable for Protestants only; Catholics could not conscientiously attend them, as they would have to be present at Protestant religious instruction, while no provision was made to give them instruction in their own religion. To remedy this state of things the national system of education was established, which afforded means of education to all, Catholics and Protestants alike. For this purpose it had—as it has still—two main rules: first, pupils of all religious denominations, who attended a school, were to be taught together in the ordinary school course, but to receive religious instruction separately; second, there was to be no interference with the religious principles of any child. From that time to the present both the number of schools and the money given by the government to support them have gone on increasing.

The Catholic peasantry were still called on to pay tithes, and they continued to be harassed by the exactions of tithe-proctors and others, who, if the money was not forthcoming, seized the poor people's cows, furniture, beds, blankets, kettles, or anything else they could lay hands on.

At last, about 1830, there arose a general movement against the payment of tithes; the people resisted all through the south of Ireland, and for many years there was a Tithe War. The military and police were constantly called out to support the collectors in making their seizures, and almost daily there were conflicts, often with great loss of life. At Newtownbarry in Wexford, in 1831, thirteen peasants were killed by the yeomanry and police; in 1832 eleven policemen and several peasants were killed in a tithe conflict at Carrickshock near Knocktopher in Kilkenny, and many other such fatal encounters took place. There was determined resistance every-

where, and the cost of collection was far greater than the amount collected. Hundreds of Protestant clergyman received little or nothing and were reduced to poverty; and to relieve these temporarily, the government advanced a large sum on loan. All this time O'Connell, seconded by Sheil, struggled vainly both in and out of Parliament for the total abolition of tithes, or for some arrangement that would shift the burden from the shoulders of the tenants. The people continued to resist, and the Tithe War went on, though an attempt was made to stop it by the Coercion Act. Some years later (in 1838), the tithes, reduced by one-fourth to pay the cost of collection, were put on the landlords, which in a great measure put an end to the Tithe War—an arrangement that would have saved endless trouble and much bloodshed if it had been adopted earlier.

In 1838 the Rev. Theobald Mathew, a young priest belonging to the order of Capuchin Friars, joined a temperance society that had been started in Cork by some Protestant gentlemen, chiefly Quakers. He took the total abstinence pledge, and soon became the leading spirit in the society. From that time forth he devoted himself almost exclusively to the cause of temperance, going all through Ireland, preaching to immense congregations, and administering the total abstinence pledge to vast numbers of people of all religious denominations. A wonderful change soon came over the country, for drunkenness with its attendant evils and miseries almost disappeared. The good effects were long felt, and are to some extent felt still. For though the evil of drink has in a great measure returned, it is not nearly so general as formerly; and drunkenness, which before Father Mathew's time was generally looked upon with a certain degree of indulgence, and by some was considered a thing to boast of, is now universally regarded as discreditable.

O'Connell and other Irish leaders had all along hoped to have the Act of Union repealed, that is, to get back for Ireland Grattan's Parliament, with all its independence and all its privileges. But the struggle for Emancipation absorbed so much of their energies that for about thirty years after the Repeal agitation was started in 1810, it was carried on only in a faint sort of way. In 1840 it was vigorously renewed, when O'Connell founded the Repeal Association; and in 1843 he began to hold great public meetings in favor of Repeal, at which vast numbers of the people attended, eager to support the movement and to hear his magnificent addresses. At one meeting held on the Hill of Tara, the ancient seat of the Irish

kings, it was computed that a quarter of a million of people were present. About thirty of these meetings—"Monster Meetings," as they came to be called—were held during 1843. At last the government took action, and "proclaimed," *i. e.*, forbade, the meeting that was arranged to be held at Clontarf on October 8. After this O'Connell and several others were arrested, tried, and convicted. But when they had spent three months in prison they had to be released in September, 1843, because the House of Lords, before whom O'Connell brought the case, decided that the trial was not a fair one, inasmuch as the government had selected a one-sided jury. It may be said that this ended the agitation for Repeal.

In those days almost the whole population of Ireland subsisted on the potato. But in 1845 and 1846 the potato crop failed, and there was a great famine, the most calamitous the country had ever experienced. In 1846 and 1847 the people died by hundreds of thousands of starvation and fever. The preventive measures taken by the government, in the shape of public works, were quite inadequate; but the English people individually made noble efforts to save the starving peasantry, and money in enormous amounts came pouring in. One sad feature of this great national catastrophe was that in each of those two years Ireland produced quite enough of corn to feed the people of the whole country, but day after day it was exported in shiploads, while the peasantry were dying of hunger. So tremendous a calamity had probably never been experienced by any other country of Europe.

After O'Connell's trial and conviction, a number of the younger men among his followers, losing faith in his method of peaceful and constitutional agitation, separated from him and formed what is called the "Young Ireland Party." They were educated men of the highest character, and many of them of great literary ability. O'Connell's various organizations from the very beginning of his career had been almost exclusively Catholic, but the Young Ireland Party included Catholics and Protestants, and one of their aims was to unite the whole people of Ireland of all religious denominations in one great organization.

The Nation newspaper had been founded in 1842 by Charles Gavan Duffy, John Blake Dillon, and Thomas Davis; the first two Catholics, the third a Protestant, and they now used it to give expression to their views. It was very ably conducted, its pages abounding in brilliant writing, both prose and poetry, of which a

large part has become permanently embodied in Irish national literature. The writers were much less guarded than O'Connell; their articles tended toward revolutionary doctrines, and they soon came in conflict with the law. Other papers with similar principles and objects were founded, with writers who were still more outspoken. Of these latter the most conspicuous for his brilliantly written and violent articles, was John Mitchell, an Ulster Unitarian, who openly advocated rebellion and total separation from England.

During all this time of disruption and trouble the whole of the Catholic clergy and the great body of the people, forming collectively the "Old Ireland Party," stood by O'Connell. The secession of the Young Irelanders was a cause of great grief to him, and he denounced them with unsparing bitterness, for he foresaw what they would bring trouble on themselves and on the country—which indeed soon came to pass after his death. Yet in many ways this brilliant band of young men exercised great influence for good, which remained after the trouble and trials were all past and gone, and which remains to this day. They infused new life and energy into Irish national literature, spread among the people a knowledge of Irish history, Irish music, and Irish lore of all kinds, and taught them to admire what was good and noble among past generations of Irishmen of every creed and party.

In 1846, O'Connell, worn out by labor and anxiety, began to decline in health, and he suffered intense anguish of mind at witnessing the calamities of the people he loved so well—for the famine was at this time making fearful havoc among them. In the following year his physicians, hoping that change of air and scene might benefit or restore him, advised him to go to the Continent. He set out on a journey to Rome, partly devotional and partly for health; but his strength failed on the way, and he died at Genoa on May 15, 1847, at the age of seventy-one. In accordance with his latest wish his heart was carried to Rome and his body was brought back to Ireland and buried in Glasnevin, where a stately pillar-tower, after the model of the round towers of old, now marks his resting place.

Chapter XLIII

THE YOUNG IRELAND MOVEMENT

By Justin McCarthy

A NEW life was growing up in Ireland at this time—a life of literature and patriotic movement. Ireland had had no literature peculiarly her own since the native language had ceased to be the tongue of the majority among her people. There had been Irish literary men at all times, but they wrote in English and in the mode of that English literature to which they belonged. O'Connell's movement brought for the first time a genuine Irish literature, inspired by the feelings, the traditions, and the very atmosphere of the country, although written in English.

The Nation newspaper was started in October, 1842. Its founders were Charles Gavan Duffy, John Blake Dillon, and Thomas Davis. Charles Gavan Duffy, who died in 1903, took a leading part in Irish political movements, and was tried more than once on a charge of sedition, though in each case the trial ended in a disagreement of the jury. He sat in the House of Commons for a short time. He emigrated to Australia, entered the Parliament of Victoria, and held high office there, becoming Prime Minister in one administration, and afterward Speaker of the Legislative Assembly. In his later years he returned to Europe, where he lived for the most part on the Riviera, but he several times revisited England and his native country.

John Blake Dillon was a barrister of large practice in Dublin. After the break up of the political movement with which he was connected he found a refuge in the United States, where he followed the profession of the law with great success. In later years he returned to Ireland, became a member of the House of Commons, and won a distinct reputation there. He died in his native country. The career of Thomas Davis was very short. He died when he had only passed his twenty-ninth year, but he left a name which will always be remembered in his own country and wherever ballad poetry is appreciated. The three men were all very young when

they founded *The Nation,* and they all had high literary gifts, which won the admiration even of their political enemies. *The Nation* was the expression in prose and verse of the country's yearnings for political emancipation, and for the revival of a native literature. It found readers in every home where Irishmen had national sentiments. The paper was for a long time thoroughly constitutional in its tone, but those who managed it and supported it soon chafed against O'Connell's creed, that no political cause would justify bloodshed. A number of young men began to rise into eminence who refused to accept this doctrine, and the effect of their writings and speeches was to damage severely the influence of O'Connell over the people of Ireland.

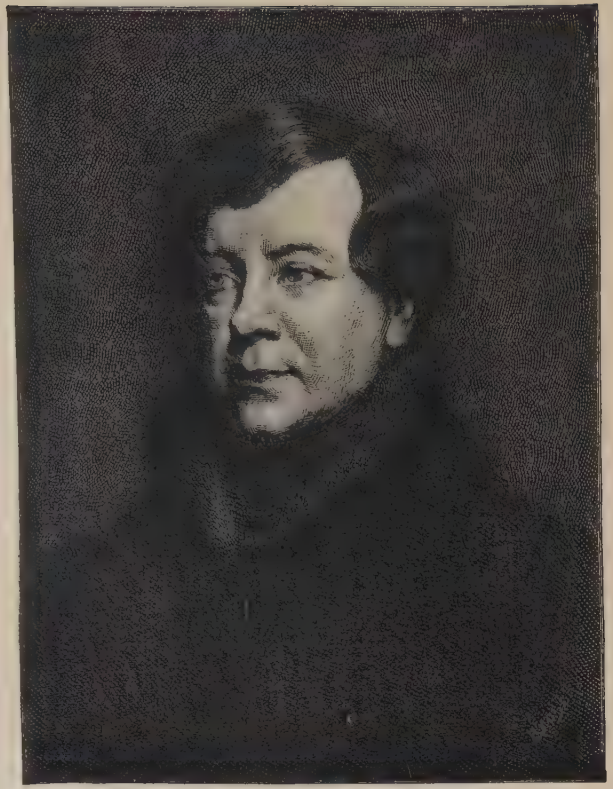
O'Connell's power probably reached its zenith when he was put upon his trial in 1843, along with Duffy and other leading Irishmen, on a charge of conspiracy and sedition. The charge was mainly founded on public speeches made by O'Connell and others. In February, 1844, after a long legal process, he was convicted and sentenced to fine and imprisonment. The manner, however, in which the Crown prosecutors of Dublin had arranged for a jury certain to convict the accused, the process familiarly known as "jury packing," was made the occasion of an appeal which came before the House of Lords in the following September, and the judgment of the Criminal Court was reversed by a majority of the Law Lords. On this occasion Lord Denman declared that the course taken by the Crown prosecutors in forming the jury was one calculated to make the criminal law of the country "a mockery, a delusion, and a snare."

After this great triumph for O'Connell the remainder of the "Liberator's" career is but a story of physical decay and of death. The Young Ireland party had broken away from his dominion and set up an agitation of their own. Two men had risen among them of quite remarkable powers. One of these was John Mitchell, and the other was Thomas Francis Meagher. Mitchell was an uncompromising Nationalist, who went in not merely for constitutional agitation, but for Ireland's independence, her complete severance from the British Empire. Meagher was one of the most brilliant orators Ireland had ever produced. Irishmen have often had great orators among them, but Meagher was counted among the most gifted of his race even in the days of O'Connell and Sheil. His style of oratory was fervid, glowing, passionate, rich with dazzling

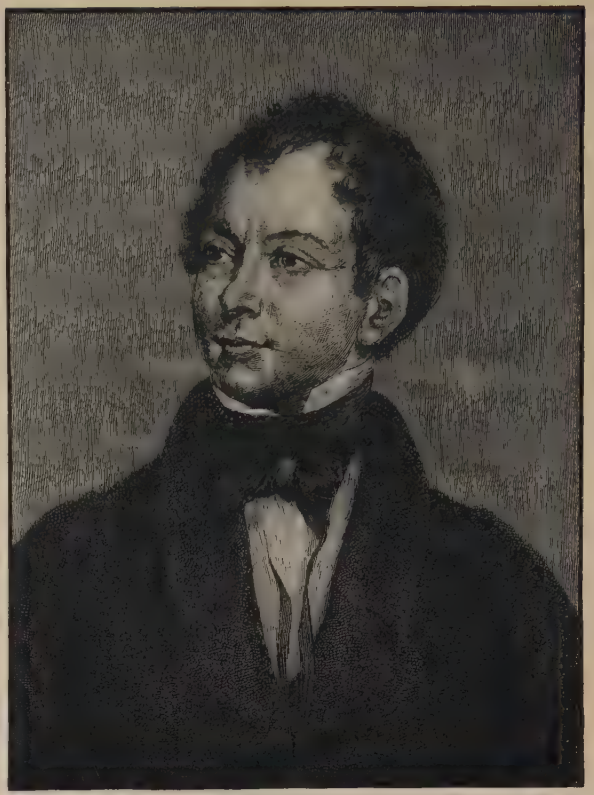
imagery and poetic allusions drawn from many literatures. Criticism might find fault with its style, but there was no question of its influence upon the listeners.

Another leader of the Young Ireland party was William Smith O'Brien, whose family claimed direct descent from one of the Irish kings, and had for its head a marquis in the British peerage. Duffy and Dillon for a time kept *The Nation* to its position as the organ of constitutional agitation, on the ground that there appeared no chance for any other kind of agitation; but they would not submit themselves or their journal to the pacific pledges O'Connell endeavored to exact. In 1846 there was an almost total failure of the potato crop throughout the greater part of Ireland, and the result was a famine, especially in the south and west, in the winter of that year and many months of the next. The whole civilized world was roused to pity and sympathy, and from the farthest regions of the earth the help of the charitable came in. That help was sadly wanted, for the measures taken by the government at home in the first instance proved pitiably inadequate. Red tape was allowed to interfere with promptitude in official action, and the peasantry were dying by hundreds while the authorities were considering how the distribution of relief could best be reconciled with the rules of political economy.

One great, although indirect, result of the Irish famine was the triumph of the principle of Free Trade in British financial policy. But this was yet to come; and meanwhile the famine was doing its grim work in Ireland. Men, women, and children were starving in towns and villages and on hillsides, and the bewildered parochial authorities were not able to provide coffins enough for the burial of hunger's victims. O'Connell's health utterly broke down under this new national calamity. His last speech in the House of Commons was delivered on February 8, 1847. It was an appeal to Parliament and the government to deal promptly and liberally with Ireland's need. He spoke in weak, broken, and sometimes almost inaudible tones, contrasting strangely with the well-remembered thrill of that voice which had so often held the House spellbound. O'Connell's physicians ordered him to seek rest in some warmer climate, and he set out for Rome, where it was believed that he wished his life should end. He did not reach his goal, for he broke down completely at Genoa, and died there on May 15, 1847. O'Connell, dying, bequeathed his heart to Rome, and it rests there



DANIEL O'CONNELL
(Born 1775. Died 1847)
Painting by Richard Doyle
National Gallery, Dublin



THOMAS MOORE
(Born 1779. D'ed 1852)
After the painting by G. S. Newton

in the Church of St. Agatha. His body was removed to Dublin and lies in Glasnevin Cemetery. Even those who are disposed to criticise him most severely will not deny that Daniel O'Connell's resting-place in Glasnevin is the grave of a great man who truly loved his country.

The Irish national movement soon broke its constitutional bounds. John Mitchell gave up his connection with *The Nation* and started a weekly journal of his own, *The United Irishman,* in which he advocated a movement for the absolute independence of Ireland. The Revolution which overthrew Louis Philippe broke out, and France became, for the second time, a Republic. Several of the Young Irelanders undertook a mission to France for the purpose of obtaining from the Republican Government help in Ireland's effort for independence. John Mitchell was put on his trial in Dublin because of articles which had appeared in his paper. He was charged with treason-felony, a new offense created by special legislation. Up to that time spoken or written sedition, when no act of rebellion or attack on the life of the sovereign had been committed, could only be visited with a comparatively light punishment; but the new statute made such sedition felonious and liable to very severe penalties. Mitchell was found guilty, and made no attempt whatever to evade the action of the law. He was defended by Robert Holmes, a great Irish advocate, brother-in-law of Robert Emmet, whose speech on behalf of his client proclaimed his full sympathy with the sentiments for which Mitchell stood on his trial. After the verdict of guilty had been pronounced Mitchell made a short speech from the dock, declaring his absolute adhesion to the principles for which he was arraigned. He was sentenced to transportation for fourteen years, and was carried off at once to Bermuda and afterward to Australia.

In the summer of 1848 the rebellion broke out under the leadership of William Smith O'Brien, and proved a complete failure. No other result could reasonably have been expected. Many of the Young Irelanders were totally opposed to so precipitate an attempt, but Smith O'Brien was determined to go on, and those who had worked with him were unwilling to hold back. No systematic provision had been made of weapons or stores, and even in that part of the country where the rising took place the majority of the people did not know that their leaders had come to Dublin to open a campaign of rebellion. The whole struggle began and ended in an

encounter with the police at Ballingarry, County Tipperary, and not even a regiment of soldiers had to be called into action. Smith O'Brien, Thomas Francis Meagher, and others were arrested almost immediately. John Blake Dillon escaped first to France and then to America. He had entirely opposed the premature and unprepared attempt, but as his leader would go on Dillon stood beside him at Ballingarry, where his tall form might have seemed to invite a policeman's bullet. A special commission was held during the autumn in the assize town of Clonmel, Tipperary, where Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and two of their fellow-prisoners were charged with high treason. They were found guilty, and condemned to death with all the accompanying horrors then legal. The sentence was commuted to one of transportation for life. The prisoners were sent to the convict settlements in Australia. In 1852 Meagher escaped from the colony and went to the United States, where he fought bravely for the North during the great Civil War. He lost his life by accident: he fell off a steamer in the Missouri and was drowned in July, 1867, in his forty-fourth year.

Smith O'Brien was conditionally released in February, 1854, the stipulation being that he must not return to any part of the United Kingdom. In 1856 he received a free pardon, and was allowed to go back to his native country. In 1864 he died at Bangor, North Wales, and his remains were removed to a churchyard in the county of Limerick, where his tomb may now be seen. John Mitchell settled in the United States, and conducted a paper in Richmond during the Civil War. He was an enthusiastic advocate of the South, and, to the great regret of most of his admirers, he proclaimed himself a supporter of slavery. After the Civil War he lived in New York, and there published a newspaper called *The Irish Citizen.* In January, 1875, he paid a visit to Ireland, and was received with much enthusiasm. A vacancy shortly afterward occurred in the Parliamentary representation of the county of Tipperary, and Mitchell, in his absence—he had gone back to America—was elected without opposition. He returned to Ireland immediately, but was in such declining health that when he attended a meeting in Cork his speech had to be read for him by John Dillon, then a very young man, son of his old political associate, John Blake Dillon, and now a leading member of the Irish party in the House of Commons. An objection was raised to Mitchell taking his seat on the ground that he was a convicted felon who had not worked

out his sentence. A long debate took place, the result being that a large majority of votes declared the election void, and ordered the issue of a new writ. A second election took place, and Mitchell was reëlected by a majority of three to one over a Conservative. Mitchell died a few days after the election, at the age of fifty-nine. He was not a practical politician, and he held some opinions which many of his warmest admirers could not accept; but there can be no question of his sincerity, and he was one of the most powerful and brilliant prose writers of his time. The essence of politics, according to Macaulay, is compromise, and compromise was a quality which never belonged to Mitchell's nature.

After the failure of the rebellion of 1848 the Irish national cause, so far as Parliamentary life was concerned, became a continuous struggle for the amelioration of the Irish land tenure system and for a nearer approach to religious equality. The effects of the famine were long felt, and emigration to America grew more and more. Those who emigrated were for the most part the young, strong, and enterprising, and those left behind were the least capable of effecting the industrial and social regeneration of Ireland. The population of the country declined steadily year after year, and has been declining to the present day. A new Ireland sprang up in America, where the Irish emigrants found profitable work on the expanses of land and in the great cities and towns. Irishmen of capacity began to take influential positions and to hold high offices in the most prosperous and progressive States. The population of Ireland now is probably hardly more than half what it was in O'Connell's earlier days, and emigration goes steadily on. Ireland still sent her representatives to the House of Commons, but they found work enough to do there in the effort to obtain legislation for the benefit or the rescue of the Irish tenant, and for many years little was heard about the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland. Nothing more was heard of Repeal, and the watchword "Home Rule" had not yet been adopted. But the literature of Young Ireland had made its mark and was maintaining its influence. It had revived in new form the old-time literary characteristics of the Irish people. Its ballads were sung and its stories were told among the young men and women of city and country all over the island.

Chapter XLIV

HOME RULE

By Justin McCarthy

AN effort which at one time seemed very hopeful was made by the government for the diffusion of education in Ireland. This consisted in the establishment of the Queen's Colleges and the Queen's University in 1847. The colleges, three in number, were founded in Belfast, Cork, and Galway. The Queen's University, to which the collegiate institutions belonged, was in Dublin. The colleges were unsectarian in character, and were open to students of all denominations. The character and method of the education deserves praise, and many of the professors were men of the highest standing in literature or science. But the scheme did not succeed, chiefly because secular education was condemned by the Catholic Church, and a large proportion of the population held aloof from "the Godless Colleges," as they were often termed. Repeated legislative dealings with the Irish tithes system had done much to relieve the country from the fierce struggles between tithe-owner and tithe-payer, and the disestablishment and disendowment of the Anglican Church in Ireland was not far off.

At this time a political organization called the Fenian Brotherhood was started in the United States, the name Fenian being taken from the ancient history of Ireland, in which it represented a member of the national militia. The name was happily chosen for its especial purpose, because it appealed to national sympathy, and seemed to bring the Irish exile in America and in England back into association with the traditions of his people.

One of the founders of the Fenian Brotherhood was James Stephens, who had been "out" with Smith O'Brien in 1848, and his leadership of the Fenian movement was a link between the present and the past. The Fenians were organized by secret enrollment, and their declared object was to make Ireland an independent republic. Stephens came to Ireland to carry on the work there, was

arrested and committed to prison, but contrived to make his escape by a combination of cleverness and daring. The Irish Fenians in America organized an invasion of Canada in May, 1866, occupied Fort Erie, and at first drove back the Canadian Volunteers; but the invaders were speedily driven back in their turn.

In England the Fenians got up a plan for seizing Chester Castle, where arms were believed to be stored, moving on to Holyhead, taking possession of any large steamers there, and accomplishing an invasion of Ireland. The plan was brought to the knowledge of the authorities before it was put into action, and it failed. In March, 1867, an attempt at a general rising was hazarded in Ireland, but it, too, proved a complete failure. Numbers of the Fenians were made prisoners, and many arrests took place in England as well as in Ireland. In Manchester a daring and successful attempt was made by a body of Fenians to rescue two prisoners from a prison van, and in the attempt to break the lock of the van by a pistol bullet, a policeman inside who had charge of the prisoners was killed. Three of the Fenians were tried, convicted, and sentenced to death on the charge of murder. An earnest effort was made to save their lives, on the ground that the death of the policeman was the result merely of accident, and not of an attempt to kill, and that although the rescue was an illegal act, the men engaged in it ought not to be treated as common murderers for the one calamity which it unhappily caused. John Bright and John Stuart Mill gave all the weight of their eloquence and their argument to obtain pardon for the condemned Fenians. Algernon Charles Swinburne addressed a noble poetic appeal for mercy to the people of England. These efforts failed. The three convicted men were put to death, and have ever since been known among Irish Nationalists all over the world as "the Manchester Martyrs." Timothy Daniel Sullivan's "Irish National Anthem" commemorates their martyrdom.

On December 13, 1867, an attempt was made by Fenians to blow up Clerkenwell Prison, with the hope of rescuing one of their comrades. The attempt failed, and the explosion caused the death of some entirely innocent and unconcerned persons, and created a feeling of horror throughout the whole country. Sober-minded observers feared that excited English crowds might attempt reprisals on some of the Irish in the Metropolis, but no such acts of vengeance were committed. The principal offender in the Clerkenwell explo-

sion was tried, found guilty, and executed, and the attempt upon the prison was utterly condemned by Irishmen as well as by Englishmen. Among the Fenians in America there was a certain dynamite party who believed that the English people could be frightened into measures of justice for Ireland by plots for the destruction of human life in English cities. An attempt made to blow up London Bridge on December 13, 1884, and one to blow up the Houses of Parliament on January 24, 1885, both ended in utter failure. It ought to be said that the recognized Fenian leaders never lent any countenance to acts of this atrocious character. Some of them were men of high honor and pure motives. Two of the Fenians who were actually condemned to death afterward won credit and distinction in peaceful pursuits. One of these was John Boyle O'Reilly, whose death-sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life, and who was transported to Western Australia. He contrived to escape, and made his way to America. He settled in Boston, rose to great distinction as a journalist, an author, and an orator, and was made welcome in Boston's most cultured literary society at a time when Emerson, Longfellow, and Oliver Wendell Holmes were still living. The other, James F. X. O'Brien, has been for many years a respected member of the House of Commons, and a devoted adherent of the Irish National Party. Mr. O'Brien had the curious distinction of being the last man in these countries on whom the now abolished sentence of death with drawing and quartering included was passed.

The constitutional agitation, which had been interrupted by the Fenian projects, soon again became active. It found a leader in Isaac Butt, the eloquent advocate who had defended some of the prisoners at the Clonmel Special Commission, and had made himself prominent as a sympathizer with Ireland's claims for a National Parliament. Butt was a Protestant, and was a Conservative at first, but he had become thoroughly sympathetic with Ireland's cause. Under his leadership the name Home Rule was first given to the new constitutional claim. Butt's policy was much too slow and regular for the energy which was once again rising among Irishmen. His plan was to bring forward every Session a motion in favor of Home Rule for Ireland. The motion was introduced by him in an able and argumentative speech, was the subject of a formal debate, and, when the division was taken, was found to have only a very small minority of supporters. The question was then shelved until the next Session.

Some younger Irishmen were meanwhile coming into the House. One of these was a man qualified and destined to make for himself an enduring name in Ireland's history. This man was Charles Stewart Parnell, who soon put himself at the head of a new and original Parliamentary movement. Parnell was an Irishman by birth and residence, but he belonged to an old English family of long descent who had been settled in Cheshire for generations before any of them obtained property in Ireland and made a home there. One of his ancestors was Thomas Parnell, author of "The Hermit." Later, Sir John Parnell lent resolute help to Henry Grattan in the defense of the Irish independent Parliament; and, later still, Sir Henry Parnell was a conspicuous figure in the British House of Commons. Charles Stewart Parnell had studied at Cambridge, but had given no evidence of any commanding ability there, and was utterly unknown to the vast majority of the House of Commons when in April, 1875, he was elected as Home Rule representative for the county of Meath. Parnell soon showed that he had a deep interest in the land question, and he devised and introduced a policy which came to be known as the policy of obstruction. The idea of this policy was that, if the House of Commons could not be prevailed upon to devote time and interest to the demands of Ireland, the Irish National representatives must make it clear that it would not be allowed to attend to any other business. Obstruction had, indeed, been put in practice again and again by English statesmen for the purpose of talking out some measure obnoxious to them, but it had never before been employed as the systematic policy of a Parliamentary party. The Parnellites debated every question as it came up with unwearying pertinacity, and as the rules of the House were not then framed with a view to the prevention of obstruction, they kept the Commons sitting night after night by mere continuity of speech-making. Butt was a thoroughly Parliamentary politician, and set himself altogether against Parnell's plans; but Parnell proved too strong for him, and soon had the whole strength of Irish Nationalism at home and abroad under his command. Butt died in May, 1879, and after a short interval Parnell was elected leader of the Irish Parliamentary party. Parnell was a close and keen debater, with a genius for the work he had to do. No man since O'Connell's time had had anything like the same command over the Irish people, and Parnell had a clearer and more practical Parliamentary policy than that of O'Connell's later days. Parnell espe-

cially wanted to force the Irish question on the attention of Parliament and of the public, and this he was well able to accomplish. The House of Commons, at the instance of successive administrations, introduced new rules for the prevention or restriction of obstruction, but the discussions on each new proposal gave fresh opportunities to the obstructive policy. New coercive measures were introduced for Ireland, and legal prosecutions led to the imprisonment of Parnell himself and many of his leading supporters, but the power of Parnell could not be broken. Enlightened English statesmen were beginning to ask themselves whether there must not be something calling for consideration in a cause which could thus inspire the great majority of the Irish people.

The greatest English statesman then living gave his whole mind to the subject, and became a convert to the principle of Home Rule for Ireland. This statesman was William Ewart Gladstone. Gladstone had before this become convinced of the necessity for making some change in the land tenure system of Ireland, and for the abolition of the Irish State Church. When at the head of the government in 1868 he set himself to accomplish these objects. During that administration he disestablished and disendowed the Irish State Church.[1] Gladstone also carried a measure recognizing the right of the Irish tenant to compensation for improvements effected by him in the soil which he had cultivated if he were to be deprived of his farm, and although imperfect as a complete settlement of the land question, this was the first step in the legislation attempted since by Conservative and Liberal governments for securing to the Irish tenant a fair chance of making a living by his industry.[2]

[1] By the Disestablishing Act, the whole public endowment, including what was received from the state, was put at the disposal of Parliament, while the private endowment was left to the church. Certain vested interests were regarded, *viz.*, Maynooth College, Presbyterians receiving the *regium donum* (given since William III.) and present holders of livings. Even with these payments to be made, a large sum was left over for the state to dispose of. The present constitution of the Irish Episcopal church was settled in 1870.

[2] The first attempt to settle the land question years before had been the appointment of the Devon Commission by Peel in 1843. This commission made an exhaustive investigation, and reported in 1845, recommending compensation for improvements, etc., but the famine, the fall of the Peel ministry, and the rebellion prevented anything being done. Russell's bill of 1847 was rejected, and the Encumbered Estates Act, providing for a compulsory sale of estates whose rents were mortgaged, in the hope that new capital would improve the estates, proved a failure. This new Land Act of Gladstone, in 1870, provided for non-eviction so long as rents were paid, and compensation for improvements made by the tenants. The first Land Act did not entirely remedy the evil.

Thus Gladstone was applying himself to the question of Home Rule when the murders of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke took place in Phœnix Park, Dublin, on May 6, 1882, and sent a shock of horror all through the civilized world. These crimes were the work of one of the small subterranean gangs of desperadoes who had then chosen to associate themselves with the National cause of Ireland. Lord Frederick Cavendish had just been appointed secretary to the lord lieutenant by Gladstone with the hope of introducing a more conciliatory form of administration into Ireland and getting rid of the old coercion system. Mr. Burke was one of the permanent officials of Dublin Castle, and was believed to have got hold of the secret plans concocted by these desperadoes, and to have discovered the identity of their authors. There can be little doubt that the object of the conspirators was to kill Mr. Burke, and that Lord Frederick was done to death only because he gallantly endeavored to defend his companion, with whom he was walking when the attack was made. The murders in the Phœnix Park were publicly condemned by all the leading Irish Nationalists everywhere, and were deplored all the more because they naturally created a widespread feeling against the Irish National cause.

Gladstone remained firm to his faith in the better system of government needed for Ireland. His administration was driven out of office in 1885 for a short time, but he soon came into power again after a general election in 1886. He then introduced his first measure of Home Rule. The two leading principles of this measure were that Ireland should have a national Parliament, and that she should have no representation in the Parliament at Westminster.[3] Grattan's Parliament was to be restored to Ireland

From 1877 on, the distress was great. The Land League, formed in 1879, had for its object the reduction of rents (and refusal to pay if not reduced) and a change in the system, seeking to put the land in the hands of the peasants rather than of the landlords. The troubles now increased, and after a preliminary investigation by a commission, Gladstone brought in his second land bill, drawn up by W. E. Forster, the Secretary for Ireland. This was known as the 3 F's Act, providing for free sale of a tenant's right (the landlord had the right of preëmption); fixity of tenure (except for non-payment of rent and other statutory offenses); fair rent, to be determined by a Land Commission, when called upon, for a term of fifteen years.

[3] The legislature was to consist of a single assembly of two orders, sitting apart under certain conditions, the first order consisting of representative peers and laymen elected by highly qualified voters; the other of members elected by household suffrage. Irish contributions to Imperial revenues were fixed at about three million pounds; there were to be no Irish representatives in the Imperial Parliament.

without the absurd old-world qualifications as to property and religious creed. Gladstone's scheme of Home Rule was frustrated by a secession from the Liberal Party. John Bright was opposed to the measure, and Mr. Chamberlain withdrew from the government rather than give it his countenance, although he had up to that time been regarded by Parnell and all the Irish Nationalist members as a strong supporter of Home Rule. The second reading of the bill brought a division on June 7, 1886, and the measure was rejected by a majority of thirty, 341 votes being given against the second reading, and only 311 in its favor. Gladstone appealed to the country, and the result was that the Radicals and Home Rulers were defeated, and the Conservatives came into office. Gladstone was not discouraged. It was well known that when he came into power again he would introduce another Home Rule measure with improved conditions, and everybody felt quite certain that should his life be spared he must before long be at the head of the government once again.

In the meantime, Ireland suffered a memorable and melancholy loss. Her greatest political leader died at Brighton on October 6, 1891. The close of Parnell's career was darkened by a miserable scandal. He and his principal followers had come triumphantly out of the ordeal which they had claimed, in justice to themselves, when *The Times* newspaper made against them its charges—of inciting to the commission of crimes and paying men to commit crimes, and the less serious charge of promoting a dangerous agitation—founded on letters attributed to Parnell. The Special Commission of Judges appointed by the government for the investigation of these charges found that the letters alleged to have been written by Parnell were forgeries. The forger, Pigott, fled to Spain, and committed suicide in Madrid to avoid arrest and extradition. Parnell and his colleagues were acquitted by the Special Commission of all the serious charges brought against them.

When Parnell appeared in the House of Commons after the report of the Judges, he was received with a welcome from the whole Liberal Party, including the occupants of the front Opposition bench and even some brave and independent men among the Tory ranks, such as had probably never been given to a private member before. This was in 1890. Soon after came the trial in the Divorce Court, and its result brought a political calamity along with it. Gladstone and the leading Liberals who stood by him believed that it would be

impossible to carry a Home Rule measure if Parnell should retain the leadership of the Irish party. A division took place in that party. A large majority called upon Parnell to resign, while the minority insisted that he must be maintained in the position of leader at all hazards. As no agreement could be effected, the majority seceded and formed a separate party under a new leader. Parnell and his followers set out on a campaign in Ireland for the maintenance of his power over the people, and there were many fiercely contested elections. Under the excitement and excessive fatigue, Parnell's health, which had been much impaired by overwork for some years, utterly broke down, and he came to his early death.

So melancholy a close to a great political career is not often recorded in history. Even the scandal in which Parnell came to be involved did not convict him of any absolutely unpardonable moral delinquency, and he made every reparation in his power. The one fault and the one mistake of Parnell were soon forgotten by Ireland as she bent over his grave.

The auspices under which Gladstone introduced his new Home Rule measure on February 13, 1893, were especially disheartening. The second measure was in some of its provisions a distinct improvement on the first. Its principle was not that of an absolutely isolated Irish Parliament, and the exclusion of Ireland from any representation in the British House of Commons. It proposed to give Ireland a domestic or national Parliament for the management of her own affairs, and a certain proportionate representation in the Imperial Parliament. Many influential English and Scottish Liberals who were also Home Rulers had strongly objected to the idea of severing Ireland from any representation in the English House of Commons. Ireland's representation in the Imperial Parliament was to be made up of eighty members, chosen on the existing qualifications. The new bill was therefore regarded with greater favor in the House of Commons than its predecessor, and the Home Rule cause made a distinct step in advance. The measure passed through the Commons by a majority of 301 against 267, and was only rejected when it went up to the Lords. The principle of Home Rule for Ireland thus obtained the recognition and approval of the representative chamber.[4]

[4] The Irish legislature was to consist of a council, elected by restricted suffrage, and an assembly, elected as the Irish members at Westminster had

The remainder of Ireland's story, thus far, may be told in short space. The Home Rule party reunited in January, 1900, under the leadership of Mr. John Redmond, who had led the Parnellite party after the split, and who now found trusting followers and comrades among all sections of Irish Nationalists.[5] The gradual development of England's colonial system has been doing much to teach Englishmen that the abiding union of the Empire is to be found in that principle of domestic self-government which has made the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia loyal and prosperous. In our most recent days we have had evidence of a good time coming for the agricultural populations of Ireland such as no previous generation has seen or even foreshadowed. This evidence is found in the conference held between the accredited representatives of the Irish landlords on the one side and of the Irish tenants on the other. Such Irish landlords as the Earl of Dunraven and the Earl of Mayo met in prolonged conference with John Redmond, William O'Brien, and Thomas W. Russell, the latter a strong Unionist in politics, who had rendered devoted service to the Irish tenantry, and now joined with leading members of the Home Rule party in representing that cause at the conference. The mere fact that such a conference should have met together to discuss the land question was an event of the most happy augury, and one new to the story of Ireland.[6]

The conference agreed unanimously in the adoption of a lengthened report clearly setting forth the principles of a land-tenure system which would enable landlords and tenants to live together on the soil, while the tenant was to be helped by government loans to obtain the ownership of the land, and thus to enjoy the secure and the increasing fruit of his labor. George Wyndham, the Irish Chief Secretary, at once brought in a bill creating a commission to buy

been, with provisions for ending a possible deadlock between the two houses. Five years was to be the limit of a Parliament. Executive power was put in the hands of the queen and lord lieutenant with a veto. The financial clauses were many and complex, designating certain revenues and charges to Ireland.

[5] The Anti-Parnellite majority was led by Justin H. McCarthy from 1890 to 1896, and then by John Dillon, although there was a split under Michael Healy before the final reunion.

[6] After the act of 1881 there were several other acts passed in the attempt to settle the land question. The Ashbourne Acts of 1885 and 1888 each advanced 5,000,000*l.* to help the peasants pay for their lands. The Balfour act of 1891 provided 30,000,000*l.*, the government to advance the whole amount of the purchase price and to be repaid in installments, and the Morley Act of 1896 gave greater advantages in applying the act.

estates from landlords and sell them to tenants, thus creating a peasant proprietary, and to assist the tenants by means of a government loan.[1] This bill as passed is known as the 1903 Land Act.

Home Rule is emphasized as the "be-all and end-all" of the Irish policy and programme. The General Council of Irish County Councils which met in Dublin in January, 1905, expressed strongly a resolution that no parliament "save an Irish parliament sitting in Ireland" is competent to make Ireland's laws. The question of separate government played an important part in the elections of 1906. The large majority won by the Liberals took from this importance. In the death of Michael Davitt at Dublin, on May 30, 1906, the Irish party lost one of its strongest leaders and most vigorous exponents of Ireland's rights.

On May 7, 1907, the government introduced into Parliament the Irish Council Bill, intended to be the first step toward Home Rule, but this Bill was received favorably neither by the English nor by the Irish. Two forces in Ireland worked against this measure: They were (1) the Sinn Fein movement, which aimed to develop the natural resources of Ireland and to make it so strong an industrial power as to compel recognition of its independence; and (2) the Gaelic League, which purposes to revive the ancient Irish language and make it the official tongue of the country.

The government also introduced another piece of legislation for Ireland. This was the Evicted Tenants Bill, and was supplementary to the 1903 Land Act. Whereas that Act relied on voluntary means, this compelled the restoration of land. The Bill was passed by a large majority.

The University Bill was introduced in 1907 and passed the following year. This provided for the chartering of two new non-sectarian universities, at Belfast and Dublin, and for the closing of the Royal University.

The Irish Land Bill was brought in in 1908, but no action taken. Practically the same Act had been brought in the year before. It reached its second reading on March 20, 1909; its progress was

[1] The provisions of this act were a free grant of 112,000,000*l.* from the government to peasants to purchase from the landlords, to be repaid at the rate of 3¼ per cent. a year. The amount the government was to loan was limited to 500*l.* in congested districts, 1,000*l.* elsewhere. This act met with some slight opposition in Ireland, but as the Irish party leaders had had a part in drawing it up, they advised peaceable acceptance, and now all classes seem content to allow it a fair trial.

slow and produced much debate, but it passed in November, 1909. One of the most important events in recent Irish economic history was the establishment in 1910 of the Society of United Irishwomen. It is affiliated with the Irish Agricultural Organization Society. It is intended to develop the principle of better living in rural communities, teaching cookery, poultry and dairy managing, and encouraging all village crafts.

Mr. Asquith introduced the Government of Ireland Bill (Home Rule Bill) in the House of Commons, on April 11, 1912, its principles being that in Ireland an Irish Parliament and Irish executive shall be absolutely responsible for all affairs exclusively Irish.

The Bill specifically states the various affairs of Imperial nature that the Irish Parliament cannot deal with. There are to be two Houses, an elected House of Representatives of 164 members, and a nominated Senate of 40 members. For Imperial purposes Ireland would still be represented at Westminster, but by only 42 members. The acts of the Irish Parliament are to be subject to veto or postponement by the Imperial Crown or Imperial Parliament. Taxes shall be levied by the Irish Parliament, but collected by the Imperial Government. Practically, an annual subsidy of 2,000,000*l.* is transferred to the Irish exchequer. Temporarily the Imperial Government retains charge of the National Insurance, Old Age Pensions, the Post Office Savings Bank, and the Royal Irish Constabulary, which last is to be turned over to the Irish Government in six years. The Irish Post Office with its patronage, on the other hand, is turned over to Irish administration. Provision is made for the Irish Government to take over the customs independently of Great Britain. Great opposition to the Bill was made by Unionist Ulster. Under Sir Edward Carson's lead opposition to any Home Rule Bill had been organized in 1911.

The discussion of the Bill continued through 1912. On October 30 the government announced a change in the clause of the Bill relating to the Senate. It was decided that hereafter the Senate shall be elected for a period of five years, the term of all Senators to expire at same time, so that election of an entire new Senate can be made at one election. The government refused to place proportional representation for the lower House in the Bill. The Bill passed its third reading on January 17, 1913.

The Home Rule Bill was immediately introduced into the House of Lords and reached its second reading on January 27, 1913. Three days later, on January 30, it was rejected by a vote of 326 to 69.

In May Sir E. Carson reopened the campaign in Ulster against the inclusion of Ulster in the Home Rule Bill. On October 25 Premier Asquith announced that his government would consider any scheme "for the adjustment of the position of the minority in Ireland on these conditions: (1) Nothing is to be done that will interfere with the setting up in Dublin of a subordinate Irish legislature with an executive responsible to it. (2) Nothing is to be done which will set a permanent or inseparable bar in the way of Irish unity, and (3) While the importance of the extension of the principle of devolution, in appropriate forms, to other parts of the United Kingdom is fully recognized, the claim of Ireland is prior in point of urgency and must be dealt with first." Mr. Redmond on November 14 declared that the exclusion of any part of Ulster would mean both the ruin of its prosperity and the nullification of "our hopes and aspirations for the future Irish nation." He further stated "there is no demand, no matter how extravagant or unreasonable it may appear to us, that we are not ready to consider carefully so long as it is consistent with the principle for which generations of our race have battled—namely the principle of a settlement based upon the national self-government of Ireland."

On March 9, 1914, the bill was introduced into the House of Commons for the third time, but four days later Premier Asquith offered to secure a settlement by consent of an exclusion of Ulster for a period of six years. On March 20, 1914, a crisis arose in connection with the movement of troops in Ireland. In consequence of orders to send additional troops to Ulster, together with a man-of-war to Belfast, several officers of the Curragh garrison resigned. General Gough and fifty-seven officers of the 3rd Cavalry Brigade declared they would face dismissal before they would obey orders taking them to Ulster. These officers were suspended but afterward reinstated.

The Home Rule Bill passed the third reading on May 25, 1914, by a vote of 351 to 274 and was at once sent to the House of Lords. The bill was introduced into the House of Lords on June 23, 1914. On July 3 the bill was given its second reading. The amendments attached to it completely altered the character of the measure.

These included the exclusion of the whole of Ulster without a ballot and indefinitely and by giving the Crown the power to suspend the operation of the bill until a commission had reported on the constitutional relation of Ireland to the other parts of the United Kingdom.

The breaking out of the great European War in August, 1914, brought the Home Rule Bill to a final decision. By the Suspensory Act introduced September 17, 1914, and passed by both houses on September 18, the operations of the Home Rule Act were suspended until twelve months from the date of passing of the act, or if the European War is not then ended, until such future date not later than the termination of the war, this date to be fixed by Order in Council.

The Royal assent to this act was given on September 18, 1914.

Chapter XLV

THE WORLD WAR AND THE REVOLUTION IN IRELAND. 1914-1922

AT the outbreak of the European war, Mr. Redmond, speaking for the Nationalist party, assured England of the loyalty of his countrymen, and Sir Edward Carson, for the Ulsterites, was equally warm in declaring the fealty of the men of Ulster.

Sir Roger Casement had declared in a letter published in Dublin that Ireland had no quarrel with Germany. He was in America at the time discussing the situation with Irish-American leaders, and preparing to visit Berlin. His friends in Ireland hindered recruiting, but only in that respect were they pro-German.

There were now three Volunteer organizations in Ireland: Ulster, National (Redmonite), and Irish. The Irish Volunteers declared that they "could not take part in foreign quarrels other than through the free action of a National Government of their own."

The Irish Party had given up hope of winning over the Ulsterites, but they still felt sure of their position in the country. The favoritism shown the Ulster Covenanters by the War Office, while the latter distrusted the Nationalists, was another source of trouble, which Redmond found difficulty in smoothing out. Sir Edward Carson and Redmond were offered seats in the coalition cabinet in 1915. Redmond declined office.

The actions of the Government in further postponing Home Rule on September 15, 1915, to March, 1916, and another postponement for six months on the last date did not insure the loyalty of the people, outside of Ulster and the Unionists.

Recruiting had meanwhile made good progress and by August, 1915, 80,000 men, infantry alone, had joined the colors. Owing largely to Sinn Fein propaganda the recruiting now fell off, even among the Nationalists, who called themselves pro-Ally. Ireland, too, had to double her contribution to the Imperial budget, and this provoked great resentment and public denunciation.

In the Spring of 1916 the rebel force was ready for action. They still lacked sufficient arms, which Germany was to supply.

Sir Roger Casement was then in Germany making preparations, and on April 11, 1916, left Wilhelmshaven in a submarine, accompanied by a vessel disguised as a timber ship, with a cargo of rifles, machine-guns and ammunition.

The expedition did not sight the coast of Ireland until April 20, by which time the authorities had learned all about it. Casement reached the shore with two companions, where they were subsequently arrested and taken to England. (Casement was hanged for treason at Pentonville on August 3, 1916.) Meanwhile the German vessel bearing the arms was overhauled by a British patrol-boat, and, finding it impossible to escape, the Germans scuttled the ship.

The reports of the expedition's miscarriage did not reach the Revolutionists until the day before the date fixed for the rising, and created a sharp division of opinion. The basis on which the whole plan of campaign reposed was swept away. In preparation for the rising it had been arranged for the Volunteers to assemble Easter Sunday for manœuvers, a mobilization of forces, in fact, but this was cancelled by an order from John MacNeill and published in the Dublin journals. The war council was still in favor of action.

Shortly after noon on Easter Monday, a body of rebels seized the Post Office and established the Headquarters of the "Provisional Government of the Irish Republic," and a tricolor flag of green, white and orange was flown from the flagstaff on the roof. A proclamation addressed to the people of Ireland was posted on the door of the building, summoning them to strike for freedom, and cast off the British yoke.

The Post Office was fortified by the rebels, and houses abutting on Sackville Street were garrisoned and the street itself barricaded. A body of the Citizen Army, under command of Countess Marckievicz, occupied and entrenched St. Stephen's Green, a park which covered an extensive grouping of road communications. Other forces occupied the Four Courts and Liberty Hall, the headquarters of the Citizen Army, flanking on the right and left area respectively the central rebel position in the Sackville Street area facing the river. Other bodies away from the centre occupied important and commanding buildings, overlooking military bar-

racks and routes into the city likely to be used by troops. Three railroad stations out of the five fell into the hands of the rebels. They were successful in destroying the railway lines for some miles out from the terminal. Before night on the first day of the rising the whole centre of the city was strongly held by the rebels, and there were many fortified posts in the suburbs.

Trinity College alone in the central area remained an impregnable fortress throughout the revolution. A garrison of about thirty rifles was hurriedly collected by Captain Alton, a Senior Fellow of the University. The Central Soldiers' Club nearby supplied some Anzac sharpshooters, and stray soldiers were summoned from adjacent streets to assist in the defence.

The Lord Lieutenant's Proclamation warned the people to abstain from participating in the Rebellion. On the second day the City and County of Dublin was placed under martial law.

Dublin was in the hands of the rebels for two days when Brigadier-General Lowe assumed command of the British forces, which now numbered over four thousand men, and began serious operations. Dublin Castle was still under fire from the rebels established in City Hall, and General Lowe proceeded to clear all the buildings that dominated the castle. This having been accomplished, a cordon was drawn around the north side of the city, the south side being left open for reinforcements.

The end of the Rebellion came on April, 29, 1916, when the Headquarters was surrounded and a battery of field artillery wrought great execution on the defences. Before noon on this date the Post Office was in flames, and the garrison made good its escape. Attempts to gain terms failed, and early in the afternoon Pearse, the Provisional President, surrendered unconditionally to Sir John Maxwell, then in chief command of the Government forces. The British Government had inspired the press to treat it as an extensive street riot, and subsequent punishment of the rebels seemed excessive. Bitterness was increased by the long drawn out executions that began four days after suppression of the Rebellion with P. H. Pearse and two other signatories of the proclamation of the Irish Republic, and continued at intervals until May 11, 1916, fourteen men paying the extreme penalty. Three thousand persons believed to have been implicated in the rising were deported.

Lloyd George was commissioned by the Cabinet to negotiate a settlement. It was proposed that the Home Rule Act be brought

into operation, but that the six Ulster Counties should be excluded. Mr. Redmond, for the Nationalists, repudiated the settlement, nor was it approved by Sir Edward Carson for Ulster.

A large number of Nationalists were swept on a wave of emotion into the Republican camp. The spirit of disaffection increased as the Government dealt harshly with every display of patriotism by the Republicans, and their journals were suppressed. The Sinn Fein association gained many adherents, even among the ranks of those who had frowned at their methods. Nor was the Irish Convention productive of any results. This was an assembly in which all parties but the Sinn Fein participated, under the chairmanship of Sir Horace Plunkett. After long deliberations the convention was unable to agree. A large majority advocated Home Rule. A minority, mostly Ulsterites, made a minority report.

The great German drive in France in the Spring of 1918 decided the British Government to extend the man-power bill. A two-fold plan of Home Rule and conscription for Ireland was announced, and resulted in vehement protests from the entire Nationalist population. Preparations were made to resist the conscription, a great fund was opened to oppose it, the Sinn Fein clubs became more active, and the Catholic bishops adopted a declaration against it. All Catholic Ireland observed Sunday, April 21, 1918, as the day for the administration by the priests of the anti-conscription covenant.

On May 1, 1918, the British Government postponed the operation of the National Service Act in Ireland, and this was the end of the disturbing question.

On May 5 Field Marshal Viscount French was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and began at once a vigorous campaign against the Sinn Feiners. In May, 1918, Professor Eamon de Valera, President of the Sinn Fein Society and a member of Parliament, and sixty-eight others were arrested and imprisoned in England. It was the claim of the British Government that they had held treasonable relations with the Germans.

The Irish Republic raised an Irish Republican Army and endeavored to thwart British plans of controlling communications and transportation and opposing the Royal Irish Constabulary.

In the general election held December 14, 1918, Sinn Fein candidates won 73 seats. They now called themselves Irish Republicans and members, not of the British Parliament, but of the

Dail Eireann, or Irish Parliament. Count George Plunkett called them together at the Dublin Mansion House on January 8. They met formally at the same place as a Parliament on January 21, 1919, chose a speaker, proclaimed the independence of the Irish Republic and appointed a mission, which included Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith, and Count Plunkett, to present their cause before the Peace Conference at Versailles. On January 22, Eamon de Valera was elected President of the Irish Republic.

The Dail sent representatives to the United States and to France and organized a ministry. Count Plunkett had been released from prison early in January; Eamon de Valera escaped from Lincoln Prison on February 4. He came to the United States in June and was warmly greeted by Irish-Americans who hoped for the independence of Ireland. An Irish leader who believed in conciliation was Sir Horace Plunkett, who came to the United States in January in order to find out the state of American opinion on Irish matters. On his return he aided in organizing the Irish Dominion League, advocating, as the name implies, a dominion status for Ireland.

Meantime, Ulster was disturbed. The Unionists, who formed the largest political party in Ulster, not only opposed the idea of a republic, but also that of Home Rule. They did not wish Ireland to be divided, but to remain united, electing members to the British Parliament.

At the close of the year 1919, Lloyd George was active in planning a new Home Rule measure to supersede the one that had not yet gone into effect. In 1920, the struggle between the British Government and the Irish Republicans assumed an extremely bitter character.

With the old Crimes Act brought again into operation, British courts in Ireland were largely courts-martial. Sinn Fein organized a system of Irish courts and threatened with severe and certain penalties those who referred their causes to the British. The Royal Irish Constabulary was much depleted by resignations, and the ranks were filled by recruits, largely ex-service men from England. In addition, an auxiliary police was formed. The two bodies of recruits went by the nickname of "Black and Tans" from their uniforms. The Irish Republicans made raids for arms, ambushed troops, searched the mails and endeavored by train wrecking and other means to prevent the transportation of troops and muni-

tions. In reprisal, the "Black and Tans" burned private dwellings and factories and sometimes wrecked whole towns and shot citizens, which led to counter-reprisals from the Republicans.

British officials attributed the following acts of violence to Sinn Fein for the year 1920: 182 police killed and 263 wounded; 54 soldiers killed and 122 wounded; 43 civilians killed and 122 wounded; 68 courthouses destroyed; 530 constabulary barracks destroyed and 163 damaged; 998 raids on mails; 46 raids on coast guards or lighthouses; 2,801 raids for arms and 119 raids on revenue officers.

There was also considerable violence and party fighting in Ulster, between the different political parties, or between Protestants and Catholics.

Typical of the disturbed times was the murder of Mayor MacCurtain of Cork by masked men early in 1920. The mayor was a Sinn Fein leader and the Irish attributed the murder to the "Black and Tans." The British declared MacCurtain had been killed by Sinn Feiners for expressing disapproval of their methods. His successor, Terence MacSwiney, imprisoned under the Crimes Act, died from a hunger strike in Brixton Prison, London, having fasted 73 days. He was the most famous of many such hunger strikers. On November 21, 1920, Sinn Fein leaders took 14 officers and civilians concerned in the British courts-martial in Dublin from their hotels or homes and murdered them. On the afternoon of the same day, constabulary surrounded a park where a hurley game was in progress. Sinn Fein pickets fired, and the constabulary then fired on the assembled crowd, of whom ten were killed directly and at least two trampled to death.

The new Home Rule Act went into effect in December, 1920. It gave Ireland two parliaments. South Ireland would have 128 Commoners and 64 Senators; North Ireland, 52 Commoners and 26 Senators. Each would have 7 Senators and 13 Commoners in a General Council, which might become a general Parliament by the passage of an incidental act through both parliaments.

Elections were held on May 13, 1921. Dublin University nominated 4 Imperialist candidates. In the other districts of South Ireland there were no candidates except those of Sinn Fein. Under the law there was no need of going to the polls to elect unopposed candidates. The Southern Parliament could not function as the 124 Sinn Feiners would not swear allegiance to the King.

1921

The Ulster elections, May 24, brought a Unionist victory. The North Ireland Parliament was organized on June 7, 1921, with the viceroy, Lord Edmund Talbot, a Catholic, present. The formal opening of Parliament took place on June 22, 1921, with King George and Queen Mary there. The King appealed to all Ireland for peace and coöperation. In the hope of conciliation, Arthur Griffith and other Irish leaders had been released from prison to take part in a conference in Dublin in July. General Jan Christian Smuts of South Africa came as unofficial peace-maker. The chief southern Unionists took part. On July 8, 1921, Lloyd George's invitation to a London conference was accepted. This conference began on July 14, over the tea table at No. 10 Downing Street. British proposals were offered on July 20. They did not satisfy De Valera, but the Dail appointed plenipotentiaries to another London conference to consider them. A treaty was signed on December 6, 1921, granting Ireland a dominion government similar to that of Canada.

Chapter XLVI

THE IRISH FREE STATE—A DOMINION OF THE EMPIRE. 1922-1931

BOTH the British Parliament and the Dail Eireann met on December 14. The British ratified the treaty without much discussion. In the Dail, such leaders as Arthur Griffith (founder of Sinn Fein), Michael Collins and Robert Barton favored the treaty, while De Valera, Erskine Childers and Count Plunkett opposed. The Dail finally ratified the treaty on January 7, 1922. The vote was close, 64 in favor and 57 against. On January 19, De Valera resigned as President of the Dail Eireann and left the session with his followers.

There was now occasion for the Southern Parliament. It met on January 14, 1922, summoned by Arthur Griffith, President of the Dail, ratified the treaty and formed the new government, with Michael Collins at the head. On January 16, the new government took over Dublin Castle and began to function.

The year 1922 saw a bitter struggle between the "Irish Republic" and the new Irish Free State. In August, the Free State lost its two chief leaders, by the death of Arthur Griffith on August 12, and the killing of Michael Collins by irregulars when his party was ambushed on August 22. William T. Cosgrave then became provisional head of the government.

A Constitution was adopted in October and approved by the British Parliament on December 4, 1922. On December 6, King George proclaimed the Irish Free State. Timothy Healy took office as Governor General, the Provisional Government ended and the Irish Free State came into active existence, with Cosgrave as President of the Executive Council. Active fighting on the part of the Republicans was practically over in the spring of 1923. Some of their most brilliant leaders had died in battle, some in reprisals by the Government; among the latter, Erskine Childers. Eamon de Valera remained their political leader, their party being the second largest.

The boundary question with North Ireland was hard to settle. The Ulster Government stood squarely on the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, which gave to North Ireland six counties—Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry and Tyrone. They had organized their government on that basis and, having no part in the Irish Treaty, had "contracted out" of the government established for the Free State. The Prime Minister, Sir James Craig, said he had agreed with the late Michael Collins for direct negotiations between them and would be willing to negotiate directly with William Cosgrave. He referred merely to rectifications of boundary, while the Free State demanded the counties and localities with Catholic majorities. Finally the British Parliament passed an act for the appointment of a member of the Boundary Commission to represent Ulster, as Ulster refused to name a member. The Commission of three took evidence in the first half of 1925, but had not announced their decision in midsummer.

Other problems concerned unemployment, a housing shortage, high taxation, a potato famine in West Ireland, 1924-1925, and the continuing difficulties with the Republicans. A Land Purchase Law, to enable tenant farmers to become proprietors was put into effect. Steps were taken to increase production, to establish new industries and to develop water power, especially by the River Shannon Power Project. The army was demobilized to 18,000.

The financial situation proved difficult, yearly expenses being at first about four times what the British had spent in governing Ireland. A high tariff is not a solution because Ireland is so largely agricultural. Compensation claims for damages called for large sums. An internal loan of £10,000,000 was floated with the prospect that another might be necessary. The debt is not large in comparison to natural resources. Ireland is a member of the League of Nations and already has a minister at Washington.

On December 3, 1925, representatives of Northern Ireland, the Irish Free State and Great Britain finally brought about a settlement of the troublesome Irish boundary question. The boundary set forth in the treaty (Dec. 6, 1921) was accepted by the Free State upon Great Britain's release to her of all claims growing out of the World War and from a share in the national debt of the United Kingdom. In turn, Ireland assumed the responsibility of Great Britain for compensating the victims of Irish disturbances

during the period of active fighting and agreed to pay a ten per cent increase on the compensation Ireland had agreed to under the Act of 1923. The Free State by these boundaries consists of three southern provinces, Leinster, Munster and Connaught, and three counties, Cavan, Donegal and Monaghan. Northern Ireland consists of the counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Londonderry, Fermanagh and Tyrone, together with the Parliamentary boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry. The Irish Free State registered the Irish boundary agreement with the League of Nations on February 9, 1926, despite the fact that the British Foreign Office had notified the League that it would not recognize the registration of treaties and agreements between integral parts of the British Empire. Normal conditions existed through January and February in both Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State. In March, 1926, Eamon de Valera resigned the Presidency of the Republican Party.

On April 18, both Irish countries began taking the national census. A census had been taken every ten years since 1821, but the political disturbances of the time made it impossible to carry out this schedule in 1921, so that the last one taken was in 1911.

Eamon de Valera was most prominent during April in his endeavors to form a new political organization—based upon the abolition of the oath of allegiance to the Crown for both Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State.

In April, Northern Ireland brought in a budget showing a slight surplus. Expenditures were £12,675,000 and revenues £12,726,000.

The result of the census of the Irish Free State taken in April was announced in September. The country's population was shown to be 2,972,802, while that of Northern Ireland was 1,256,322, or a total of 4,229,124 for all of Ireland. The census of the Irish Free State showed a slight decrease from the census of 1911 when the population was officially placed at 3,139,688. The falling off was due, it was estimated, to the withdrawal of British troops and their dependents, British officials of various grades, losses in the World War and to emigration, principally to the United States. It was estimated that 43 per cent of Ireland's population were living abroad, more than two-thirds of which had settled in the United States.

It was announced in November that the estimated revenues for

Northern Ireland for 1926 would be $58,295,000, with expenditures of $49,835,000.

Another outbreak of lawlessness took place in November, 1926, and armed patrols of Extreme Republicans raided the state army posts and Civil Guard barracks in Cork, Waterford, Meath, Kerry, Tipperary and other outlying districts. Emergency steps were actively taken by Government forces to restore order.

In the Imperial Conference of 1926, the British Government agreed to expunge the term "United Kingdom" from the King's title, the new form of title being "George V by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions Beyond the Sea, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India."

The Gaelic language was made the subject of a special report by General Richard Mulcahy, and it was shown that the language is rapidly disappearing. Only about one person in eight is able to speak it, and only a small per cent of those who have a knowledge of the language can use it with any degree of fluency. Not one secondary school employs Gaelic in its class recitations.

The budget for 1926-1927 for the Irish Free State was balanced at £25,567,000. In April, 1927, there was shown to be a surplus in the budget of £550,000, and the income tax will be accordingly reduced. The Dail Eireann (Irish Parliament) was dissolved by the Governor-General of the Irish Free State on May 23, and writs for a general election for the fifth Dail were issued on June 9, 1927. Eight parties were in the field. The elections in June brought about a most serious crisis in the political history of the Irish Free State. They resulted in reducing the Government party in the Dail Eireann from a parliamentary majority of 17 to a parliamentary minority of seven; but as none of the Opposition groups could muster a majority, or were willing to form a coalition and assume office, William T. Cosgrave was re-elected President of the Executive Council with a ministry selected by himself. Eamon de Valera, with forty-three others of his party, the Extreme Republican group, who were elected to the Dail, attempted to take their seats without subscribing to the oath of allegiance to the British King, but were forcibly prevented from doing so. The Dail Eireann with the members of the Republican group was constituted as follows: Government Party, 47; Labor Representatives, 22; Farmers, 11; National Leaguers, 8; Sinn Feiners, 6; Independents, 15. In accepting office President Cosgrave declared that he

would assume direction of the Government only upon being assured of sufficient support from the Opposition to enable his party to carry out its program in full. He announced that he would allow no measures to be introduced that were aimed at tampering either with the treaty or with the Constitution. Another announcement was that there would be no change in the oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain so long as his Government should remain in power. One effect of the intense political unrest of the times was the assassination of Kevin O'Higgins, Vice President of the Irish Free State, in Dublin, on July 10. It was believed that political partisans were responsible for the crime. O'Higgins was inflexible in his determination to carry out the very letter of the Constitution and his uncompromising attitude won for him loyal support from his colleagues and party associates, but raised up equally strong resentment among his political opponents.

Ascribing the responsibility of O'Higgins's murder to the Republican group, the Government in retaliation passed a bill providing that every candidate at future elections must take an oath of willingness to enter the Dail and also the oath of allegiance to the crown. To prevent the complete extermination of his party, De Valera was thus forced to abandon his policy of abstention from the Dail. In August, 1927, the 44 members of the Republican Party who had been elected to the Dail, took the oath of allegiance. In explanation they said they considered the oath "an empty political formula" and refused to be bound by it in any way. They quickly became the majority party through an alliance with the Labor and National League parties.

President Cosgrave took the vigorous action of dissolving the Dail and calling for a general election to be held September 15, the new Parliament then chosen to meet on October 11, 1927.

The elections of September 15 were so close that results were in doubt for several days. On September 20 it was announced that the parties supporting President Cosgrave would have a majority of six in the Dail, numbering: Cosgrave Party, 61; Independents, 12; Farmers' Party, 6; total for the Government, 79. The Opposition parties were: De Valera (Fianna Fail) Party, 57; Labor Party, 13; National League, 2; Larkinite, 1. Total for the Opposition, 73. The victory was too close not to be somewhat disappointing to the Government. At the sixth Dail the Republicans were present for the first time to take a direct part in legisla-

tive work and to provide a vigorous opposition for the Government.

Exercising the right conceded it by the Imperial Conference of 1926, the Irish Free State, in December, 1927, virtually made its own appointment of James McNeill, former High Commissioner at London, as Governor General to succeed Timothy M. Healy. In January and February, 1928, President Cosgrave visited the United States as an emissary of friendship between the two nations. At the same time De Valera was in the United States to raise funds for the foundation of an anti-Government newspaper. Funds for the Irish Republican cause in the 1927 elections totaled $150,000, almost $145,000 of which was raised in the United States.

In June, 1928, President Cosgrave announced that for the first time the Government had balanced its budget. The Irish Free State was one of fifteen nations which on August 27 signed the Kellogg-Briand treaty for the renunciation of war. On his way home from Paris Frank B. Kellogg, American Secretary of State, was warmly received in Dublin. On October 10 the Dail met again and passed a fairly quiet session.

An outbreak of political terrorism occurred early in 1929 and reached serious proportions. Jury members were threatened, injured, and murdered. Government officials had to seek armed protection. The political parties disclaimed any responsibility for the crimes. At this time Cosgrave urged again a drastic law for the punishment of political criminals.

A government censorship of all books was authorized in a bill passed in July, 1929. Through its provisions, all books, newspapers, and periodicals entering or published in the Free State are subjected to the censorship of a board of five members appointed by the Minister of Justice. Birth control publications are banned. There are specific prohibitions against newspapers devoting an undue proportion of space to crime or reporting legal proceedings in a manner likely to corrupt public morals. Authors, editors, and publishers have the right of defense.

For the first time in many years emigration from Ireland was declining, according to figures given by President Cosgrave on November 14, 1929.

One of the few stumbling blocks left between Great Britain and the Irish Free State, the question of the abolishment of the right of appeal from the Supreme Court of the Free State to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London, was brought

up in 1929. In the past the Judicial Committee had reversed the decisions of the Irish court in a number of instances, and this was held to be a return to the old idea of centrality in dominion government and subversive of the authority of the new state. No settlement was reached on the demands of the Irish delegation for abolition of appeals at the Imperial Conference of 1930. The winter of 1929-30 saw the virtual completion of the Shannon electric power development. Thousands of homes were wired on the hire-purchase system. By 1929 expenditures for the development totaled nearly £5,000,000.

The Cosgrave Cabinet was temporarily dissolved for the first time in its eight years of power on March 27, 1930. By a majority of two votes, the Dail on the day previous had carried against the Government an amendment designed to increase old-age pension benefits. The Dail adjourned. Six days later, on April 2, Cosgrave was re-elected President of the Council by a vote of 80 to 65. The report of Ernest Blythe, Minister of Finance, on April 30, gave the public debt as $126,090,000 and public liabilities $101,-250,000. In November there was a revival of terrorism with attacks on government officials and the shooting of a guard at the house of Michael Hayes, Speaker of the House.

Revenue for the year 1931 was estimated at $123,305,000 and expenditures at $131,821,250. As the year ended the country was in agitation through a fresh and more serious outbreak of political crimes. Intimidation of men refusing to join the Irish Republican Army, terrorizing of juries and witnesses, and opposition to the state extending to force and violence brought a reign of terror. The movement seemed unconnected with either of the two major parties. The extreme Republicans denied any allegiance to De Valera. At the opening of the Dail, October 14, the Cosgrave Government was willing to fall if necessary on the passage of the Public Safety Bill which had been urged since the murder of Kevin O'Higgins. The Fianna Fail and Labor parties solidly opposed the measure. On October 16 it was carried by a majority of 83 to 65. The bill established military courts for summary trial on charges of sedition and committing of outrages, with power to impose capital punishment. Membership in the Irish Republican Army and allied organizations, among them the Communist Party, was made a state offense.

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Chapter I

THE GAELIC PERIOD

THE northern part of Great Britain is now called Scotland, but it was not called so till the Scots, a Celtic people, came over from Ireland, and gave their name to it. The Romans who first mention it in history speak of it as Caledonia. There are two points in which the history of this country and of the people who live in it is unlike the history of most of the other countries and nations of Europe. Firstly, it never was taken into the great Roman Empire; and secondly in it we find a Celtic people who, instead of disappearing before the Teutons, held their ground against them so well that in the end the Teutons were called by the name of the Celtic people, were ruled by the Celtic kings, and fought for the independence of the Celtic kingdom as fiercely as if they had themselves been of the Celtic race. But the whole of the country is not of the same nature. The northern part is so nearly cut off from the rest of Britain by the two great Firths of Forth and Clyde as to form almost a separate island, and this peninsula is again divided into Highlands and Lowlands. Speaking roughly, we may say that all the west is Highland and the east Lowland. A range of mountains sweeping in a semicircle from the Firth of Clyde to the mouth of the Dee, known as Drumalbyn or the Mount, may be taken as the line of separation, though the Lowlands extend still further north along the eastern coast. The marked differences between these two districts have had a very decided influence on the character of the inhabitants, and consequently on the national development. The Lowlands are well watered and fertile, and the people who lived there were peaceable and industrious, and both on the seaboard and inland there is early notice of the existence of populous and thriving towns. The Highlands, on the contrary, are made up of lakes, moors, and barren hills, whose rocky summits are well-nigh inaccessible, and whose heath-clad sides are of little use even as pasture. Even in the glens between the mountains,

where alone any arable land is to be found, the crops are poor, the harvest late and uncertain, and vegetation of any kind very scanty. The western coast is cut up into numberless islets, and the coast-line is constantly broken by steep jagged promontories jutting out seaward, or cut by long lochs, up which the sea runs far into the land between hills rising almost as bare and straight as walls on either side. In the Highlands even in the present day there are no towns of any importance, for the difficulty of access by land and the dangers of the coast have made commerce well-nigh impossible. The Highlanders, who were discouraged by the barrenness of their native mountains, where even untiring industry could only secure a bare maintenance, and tempted by the sight of prosperity so near them, found it a lighter task to lift the crops and cattle of their neighbors than to rear their own, and have at all times been much given to pillaging the more fortunate Lowlanders, of whom they were the justly dreaded scourge.

As the country is thus naturally divided into two parts distinctly opposite in character, so the people are made up of two distinct branches of the great Aryan family, the Celtic and the Teutonic. The Celts were the first comers, and were in possession when the country became historically known; that is, at the first invasion of the Romans. In later times we find three Celtic peoples in North Britain, to wit, the Picts, the Scots, and the Welsh. The Picts were those Celts who dwelt north of the Firths in Alba or Alban, as the earliest traditions call it; and if we judge from the names of places and contemporary accounts and notices, there is every reason to believe that they were more akin to the Gaelic than to the British branch of the Celtic race. The Scots, the other Gaelic people, were, when we first hear of them, settled in Ireland, whence at different times bands of them came over to the western coast of Britain. They were friends and allies of the Picts, and are early mentioned as fighting on their side against the Romans. After a time, when many more Scots had settled in Alba, their name became common to all the Celts north of the Firths, and from them the whole country was called Scotland. The Celts south of the Firths were partly Christianized and civilized by the Romans, and thus became very different from the rest. They got their name of Welsh from the Teutonic tribes who came from the land between the Elbe and the Eider, and, settling along the eastern coast, finally took possession of a great tract of country, and called the Celts

whom they displaced Welshmen, or foreigners. The Celts called all these new comers Saxons, though this was really only the name of one of the first tribes that came over; and as they gradually spread over the Lowlands, the word Saxon came to mean simply Lowlander. In course of time the original proportions of these two races have been nearly reversed, so that the modern Scottish nation, though it keeps its Celtic name, instead of being made up of three Celts to one Saxon, is much more nearly three Saxons to one Celt.

The Romans, who had already made themselves masters of South Britain, were led into the northern part of the island by Julius Agricola, 80 A. D. But the Celts whom they found there, and whom they called Caledonians, were so well able to defend themselves among their mountains that the Romans, though they defeated them in a great battle on the Highland border, gave up the idea of conquering the country, and retreated again south of the Firths of Forth and Clyde. Across the isthmus between the two, which is about thirty miles wide, they built a line of forts, joined by a rampart of earth. This rampart was intended to serve as a defense to their colonists, and as a boundary to mark the limit of their empire; though, as many Roman remains have been found north of the isthmus, they must have had settlements without as well as within the fortifications. But the Caledonians, who were too high-spirited to look on quietly and see their country thus taken possession of, harassed the colonists by getting over the wall and seizing or destroying everything they could lay their hands on. At length (120 A. D.) the Roman Emperor Hadrian built a second rampart across the lower isthmus, between the rivers Tyne and Solway, leaving the district between the two pretty much at the mercy of the fierce Picts, as the Romans now began to call the Caledonians. Twenty years later, in the reign of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, one of his generals, Lollius Urbicus, again drove them back beyond the first wall, and repaired and strengthened the defenses of Agricola. But, before half a century had passed, the Picts again burst the barrier, and killed the Roman commander. In 208 the Emperor Severus cut his way through Caledonia with a large army. He reached the northern coast, but had no chance of fighting a battle, and lost many of his men. He repaired and strengthened the rampart of Hadrian. In time the Picts got over the second rampart, too, and came south as far as Kent, where, in

the latter part of the fourth century, Theodosius, the Roman general, father of the famous emperor of the same name, had to fight his way to London through their plundering hordes. Theodosius drove them back with great vigor, restored the Empire to its former boundary, and made the district between the walls into a Roman province, which he called Valentia, in honor of Valentinian, who was then emperor. It was probably about this time that the great stone wall was built across the lower isthmus. The dangers which threatened the capital of the Empire in the beginning of the next century forced the Romans to forsake this as well as all their other provinces in Britain, and the withdrawal of their troops left the Romanized Britons of Valentia a helpless prey to their merciless enemies the Picts. At the end of the three centuries of Roman occupation, the Britons south of the Firths had so little in common with the wild Picts, who in Alba and in Galloway still maintained their independence, that they were like people of different races. The one set, though still savage and heathen, were as brave and fierce as ever; the other, though Christianized and civilized, were so degenerated from the vigor of the original stock that they were powerless to resist their more warlike kinsmen.

In the sixth century the Angles came in great force and settled on the eastern coast of Valentia, and drove the Britons, or, as they called them, Welshmen, back to the Westland Hills. This district then between the Roman walls was thus divided between two kingdoms. The English kingdom of Northumberland, founded in 547, took in all the eastern part of the country south of the Forth; while the Welsh kingdom, called Strathclyde from the river that watered it, stretched from the Firth of Clyde southward toward the Dee.

About the same time that the English were pouring in on the east, the Scots were settling the western coast. As the strait which separates Britain from Ireland is only twelve miles broad, the Scots could easily come over from Scotia, as Ireland was formerly called, to seek their fortune in the larger island. It is impossible to fix the date of their first coming, but it was not till the beginning of the sixth century that there came over a swarm numerous and united enough to found a separate state. This is one of the few Celtic migrations on record from west to east, and forms an exception to the general displacement that was going on, by which the Celts were being driven further and further west before the

Teutons. The leaders of the Scots were Fergus MacErc, and Lorn, of the family of the Dalriads, the ruling dynasty in the north of Ireland, and from them this new state founded on the

western coast of what is now called Argyle got the name of Dalriada.

These Scots were not pagans like the Picts of Alba, for Ireland had already been Christianized. The newcomers brought the new faith to their adopted country, and through them it spread among the Picts, and also among the English of Northumberland. The great apostle of the Scots was Columba. He was Abbot of

Durow in Ireland, but after many years' work there came over to the new colony on the coast of Alba, and Conal, who was then king of the Dalriads, welcomed him, and gave him I, or Iona, an islet about a mile and a half long and a mile broad, lying west of the large island of Mull. Here Columba settled with the twelve monks who had come with him, and here they built for the service of God a little wooden church after their simple fashion, and for their own dwelling a few rude huts of wattle, which in after-times was called a monastery, where they passed their days in prayer and study. But their missionary zeal was as great as their piety, and from their headquarters on Iona they went cruising about among the adjacent islands, extending their circuit to the Orkneys, and even, it is said, as far as Iceland.

Columba himself undertook the conversion of the Picts. About two years after his arrival at Iona he set out on this important mission, crossed Drumalbyn, sought the court of Brud, the Pictish king, converted him, and founded religious communities on the same plan as that of Iona, on lands granted to him by the king or his dependent chiefs. The church thus set up was perfectly independent of the Bishop of Rome or of any other See, but it inherited all the peculiarities of the Church of the Irish Scots. The monks had a way of their own of reckoning the time for keeping Easter and of shaving their heads, trifles which were considered important enough to become the subject of a very long quarrel, and it was not till 716 that they agreed to yield to the Roman custom in both matters. According to their system of church government, the abbots of the monasteries were the chief dignitaries, and had all the power which in the rest of Christendom was held to belong to bishops, while the bishops were held of no account except for ordaining priests, for which purpose there was one at least attached to each monastery. Columba, who was himself of the royal race, had so much influence among the Dalriads that his authority was called in to settle a dispute about the succession to the throne. The abbots of Iona after him continued supreme in all the ecclesiastical affairs of Alba till the middle of the ninth century, while the well-earned reputation for piety and learning enjoyed by the monks of his foundation was widely spread in continental Europe. About this time Kentigern revived among the Welshmen of Strathclyde the dying Christianity which had been planted there in the time of the Roman occupation.

The English of Northumberland were still heathens, and, as they were ever fighting with, and growing greater at the expense of their neighbors, their state bade fair to become the most powerful in Britain. In the beginning of the seventh century their king, Eadwine, was supreme over all Britain south of the Forth. But though Eadwine was converted by the preaching of Paullinus, the first Bishop of York, the new doctrine does not seem to have spread much among his people; for one of his successors, Oswald, who in his youth had been an exile at the court of his kinsman the Pictish king, prayed the monks of Iona to send him one of their number to help to make his people Christian. Conan, the first missionary who went, was so much disgusted with the manners of the English that he very soon came back to his brethren. Then Aidan, another of their number, devoted his life to the task which Conan had found so distasteful. He taught and toiled among them with a zeal that was seconded by Oswald, the king, who himself acted as interpreter, making the sermons of the monk intelligible to his English hearers. From Lindisfarne, where the little church of Aidan was founded, like that of Iona, on an islet, Christianity spread to the neighboring state of Mercia, and many monasteries and schools were founded after the Columban model.

Oswald and his successor Oswin extended their dominions beyond the Firths, and it is said that they made the Scots and Picts pay tribute to them. The next king marched north and crossed the Tay with a mighty host, but he was routed and slain in a great battle. From that time the English seem to have kept more to the country south of the Forth, and the Picts were more independent of them. This is about the only event of moment that we know of in the history of that people, of whom no records remain, except a long list of their kings down to 843, at which date they became united with the Scots under one king.

The union of Picts and Scots took place under Kenneth MacAlpin, who was king of the Scots. That he was king of the Picts also is certain; how he came to be so can only be guessed. It is more probable that it was by inheritance than by conquest, though he and the kings after him kept his original title of King of Scots. Over how much land he reigned and what degree of power he had over his subjects is not known. It is thought that among the Celts the king was only the head of the dominant tribe among many other tribes or clans, each of which was bound to follow its

own chief, and the king's control over those chiefs seems to have been more in name than in fact. The northern districts seem to have been ruled by powerful chiefs called Maers or Mormaers. These chiefs, who it has been supposed were nominally subject to the King of Scots, acted as if they were quite independent of him. They were indeed his most troublesome enemies, and several of the kings lost their lives in battle against them. Moray was the greatest of the Mormaerships. It lay north of the Spey and of the mountains of Argyle, and stretched across the country from the Moray Firth to the opposite ocean.

The reigns of Kenneth's successors were mainly taken up in fighting with the Northmen, a heathen people of Teutonic race who infested the seas and plundered the seaboard. From the eighth century downward they were the scourge alike of English and Celtic Britain, swooping down on the coasts, harrying the lands, and making off with their booty, or, at other times, seizing and settling on great tracts of country. Three countries of modern Europe—Denmark, Norway, and Sweden—were peopled by the Northmen. But while it was those from Denmark who chiefly harassed and finally conquered the English, the Norwegians seem to have looked upon Scotland as their own especial prey, attracted doubtless by the likeness between its many isles and inlets and the jagged outline of the larger Scandinavian peninsula. The long narrow lochs of the western coast, like the fiords of Norway, proved convenient harbors for the ships of these pirates. It is toward the close of the eighth century that we first hear of the descents of the Northmen on the Pictish kingdom. It is told how they ravaged all the coast, destroyed the Pictish capital, and haunted the Irish Sea. Their fury was especially directed against churches and religious communities, and Iona did not escape. Again and again it was wasted by fire and sword, its churches plundered, the brethren slain, till at length the abbot was compelled to seek on the mainland a refuge for himself and the relics of the saintly founder. Under Kenneth MacAlpin the supremacy over the Scottish Church was transferred to the monastery of Dunkeld. Under Kenneth's son a fresh spirit was given to these invasions by the formation of the kingdom of Norway by Harold Harfagra. The petty chiefs displaced by him, who were called Vikings or dwellers on the bays, sought a settlement elsewhere. Several of them founded settlements in Ireland, whence they came to plunder the western shores

of Britain. Others took up their quarters in the Orkneys, and the Sudereys or Southern Isles, as the Northmen called those isles that are now known as the Hebrides. Those in the Orkneys were subdued by Harold, who made the islands into an earldom and gave it to Sigurd, one of his allies. Thorstein, Sigurd's successor, proved a formidable foe to the King of Scots, made himself master of all the north country, pretty nearly answering to the modern counties of Caithness and Sutherland, to which last the Northmen gave its name because it lay south of their island possessions. On Thorstein's death his great earldom fell to pieces. About this time one Cyric or Grig, who is supposed to have been one of the Northern chiefs, seized on the throne and reigned about eighteen years, leaving his name on record as the liberator of the Scottish Church.

Constantine II. (900-943), grandson of Kenneth, who came after Grig, commended himself and his kingdom to Eadward, king of the English, in 924. Constantine chose him as "father and lord," that is, he placed himself under his protection, and acknowledged Eadward as mightier than himself. On this compact were based the subsequent claims of the English to the overlordship of the Scots. This commendation was renewed to Æthelstan, Eadward's successor. But Constantine soon repented of his submission, and a few years later he and the Welshmen of Strathclyde joined the Danes in their attempt to get back Northumberland, from which Æthelstan had expelled them. The allies were utterly routed in the great battle of Brunanburh, in which Constantine's son was slain, in 937. Six years later Constantine exchanged civil for spiritual rule, and retired as abbot to the Monastery of St. Andrews.

Malcolm I. (943-954) succeeded Constantine, though not his son, but his kinsman, for the Scots did not adhere strictly to the order of succession which is now customary: though they kept to the royal family, they generally preferred the brother to the son of the last king. The great event of this reign was the annexation of Strathclyde, which had been conquered by the English king Eadmund, and was now granted by him to Malcolm as a territorial fief, held on condition of doing military service by land and sea whenever it should be required. Thus Strathclyde became an appanage of the heir apparent to the Scottish crown. Of the six kings after Malcolm little is known. They passed their lives and met their deaths in struggles with the Welsh or with their own

northern subjects. Under Induff the Scots got Edinburgh, which had been founded by Eadwine of Northumberland.

Malcolm II., grandson of the first of the name, was the last of the direct line of Kenneth MacAlpin. His reign, which lasted thirty years, is notable from the fact that he managed to get hold of Lothian, the northern part of Northumberland. One of Malcolm's first acts was an invasion of this earldom. The earl, being old and feeble, shut himself up in his castle of Bamborough and let Malcolm advance unresisted. He got part way, but was met and defeated by the vigorous son of the old earl. Some years later, when the son was dead, Malcolm made a second invasion, and took ample revenge for his defeat in the brilliant victory at Carham, on the banks of the Tweed, in 1018. After this victory the Scots were in possession of Lothian, which the Earl of Northumberland was not strong enough to take from them. Their king held it as an English earldom, and did homage for it to the king of England.

In 1031 Cnut, the mighty Dane who reigned over Denmark, Norway, and England, came north, and Malcolm met him, acknowledged him as his overlord, and renewed the agreement which had been made between Constantine and Eadward. Three years after his submission to Cnut, Malcolm died, leaving as his heir Duncan, the son of one of his daughters. There is a tradition that, to secure Duncan's succession, Malcolm had caused the grandson of a previous king to be murdered. If he did so, this crime defeated its own end, for Gruach, sister of the murdered man, was now the wife of Macbeth, the Mormaer of Moray, one of the most powerful chiefs. Duncan came north to make war on some of these turbulent Maers, and Macbeth seized the opportunity thus offered by the presence of the king in his province, attacked and defeated him in battle, and afterward slew him in a place called Bothgowan, which is thought to mean a smith's hut.

Macbeth, whose reign extended from 1040 to 1057, must not be looked on as an usurper and murderer. He was the natural supporter of the claims of his wife and Lulach, her son by a former marriage, who, according to the received rule of Gaelic succession, had a better right to the throne than Duncan himself; and no doubt he justified the murder of the young king as lawful revenge for that of his wife's brother. At all events, after he had got the kingdom, he ruled it well and wisely, so that his reign was a time

of great national plenty and prosperity, and he and his wife were benefactors of the church and of the poor, not only at home, but abroad, for it stands on record that they sent alms to the poor at Rome. But he was not left long in peaceable possession, for the father of Duncan got up a rising in favor of his two grandsons, Malcolm and Donald. About the same time Siward, Earl of Northumberland, brought an army against Macbeth, and drove him from the throne, though he got it back as soon as Siward went away. Some years later Siward, whose kinswoman Duncan had married, again took up the cause of his cousin Malcolm, invaded the kingdom and defeated the king in a great battle; and though Macbeth held out for four years longer, he was at last slain. Lulach, son of Gruach, died soon after; and though he left a son whose claim was brought up again long afterward, there was no attempt made at that time to prolong the struggle.

The reign of this Malcolm, surnamed Canmore or the great head, is a turning-point in Scottish history, which henceforth ceases to be essentially Scottish, the Celtic manners, language, laws, and customs being changed by the strong English influence brought to bear on them in this and the following reigns. This change was in great measure due to the conquest of England in 1066 by the Normans under William the Conqueror. The Scottish court was the nearest and most natural refuge for those Englishmen who would not yield to the strangers. Thither they flocked in great numbers, and there they found a hearty welcome. Among these exiles came Eadgar the Ætheling, the representative of the West-Saxon kings, and with him his mother and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina. Malcolm received them very kindly, and they stayed with him all the winter. In the beginning of his reign Malcolm had invaded England, where Eadward the Confessor was then king, and had wasted the shires of York and Northumberland while the earl was gone on a pilgrimage to Rome. He now made a second raid of the same sort, although, when William held his court at York two years before, he had sent in his nominal homage to him by the Bishop of Durham. This time he went on behalf of the Ætheling, and harried the districts of Cleveland and Durham, which had already been wasted by William. His progress was marked by every species of cruelty; neither churches nor children were spared, and the Scots brought back so many captives that English slaves were to be found even in the

very poorest households. Meanwhile Eadgar, who had taken part in two or three risings in England, again sought the protection of the Scottish court, and shortly after Malcolm succeeded in persuading Margaret to become his wife.

In 1072 William came north with a fleet and an army to avenge Malcolm's raid. He went as far as Abernethy on the Tay, the former Pictish capital, and there Malcolm met him and acknowledged William as overlord by becoming his man or vassal, giving hostages, among whom was his own son Duncan, as warrants for his good faith. But some years later Malcolm took advantage of William's absence in Normandy to harry his kingdom again as far as the Tyne, bringing back both spoil and captives. The Conqueror's eldest son, Robert, came north to avenge this invasion, but happily he and Malcolm came to terms without any more bloodshed. This peace was not broken till 1092, when Malcolm again invaded England. The excuse for this was that his brother-in-law, the Ætheling, had been turned out of the retreat in Normandy granted to him by the Conqueror. William Rufus, who now sat on his father's throne, marched into Lothian, where peace was again made by the mediation of Robert and Eadgar. Malcolm renewed his homage, and William renewed the grant made by his father of certain manors and a yearly payment of twelve marks. But William did not keep to the terms of the treaty, and when Malcolm complained of this breach of good faith he was summoned to appear before the English court at Gloucester. He went, but soon came away again, justly incensed at the insulting way in which he was treated by being put on the same level as the Norman barons. For the fifth time Malcolm entered England at the head of an army, but from this expedition there was no triumphant return, for the king and his son were slain on the banks of the Alne, and the host that had followed them fled in great confusion.

The disaster did not end with the death of the king, for the good Queen Margaret, who was then at Edinburgh, died of grief almost immediately after hearing the sad tidings. This good woman, whose many merits have won for her the title of saint, was the chief worker in the revolution which was being silently wrought in the manners of the court, and of the people, and in the government of the church and of the state. The influence which piety and learning gave her over her husband and his people was used

to soften his fierceness, and to win them from their own half-savage ways to the customs of more civilized countries. She is said to have introduced silver plate at court, and many other luxuries of which the Scots had hitherto been ignorant; she encouraged literature and commerce, but she chiefly busied herself in reviving the state of religion, which had sunk to a very low ebb. The church had fallen from its ancient purity and zeal, and had become a prey to many singular abuses. The abbotships were hereditary in the great families, and were often held by laymen, and the religious foundations were in the hands of a body of irregular clergy called Culdees, from two Latin words meaning "servants of God." Margaret called a council of the clergy and spoke to them herself, her husband acting as her interpreter, and did her best to make them give up their peculiarities and follow the usages of the rest of Christendom. She rebuilt the church of Iona, which had suffered so terribly at the hands of the Northmen, and founded a new church at Dunfermline, in which she and her husband were buried.

The death of the king and of his son Eadward, who had been recognized as heir-apparent, threw the kingdom into confusion; and the Gaelic party, who had looked on with disgust and jealousy at the changes of the last reign and at the displacement of the Gaelic chiefs by the English immigrants, elected Donald Bane, Malcolm's brother, to the vacant throne. Meanwhile Duncan, the son of Malcolm and his first wife, prayed William Rufus to aid him in recovering his father's kingdom, which he promised to hold as an English fief. His suit was granted, and with the help of an English and Norman army he drove out his uncle and reigned a few months. But in 1093 Donald again got the upper hand, murdered Duncan, exiled the rest of the family, and kept possession of the throne for three years. At the end of that time Eadgar the Ætheling was sent north with an English army, and placed his nephew Eadgar on the throne on the same terms as those which had been granted to Duncan. Donald Bane was taken, and after the cruel custom of the time, his eyes were put out before he was cast into prison.

With Donald in 1097 ends the Gaelic or Celtic period. The sons of Margaret carried out the reforms begun by their mother, and the Celtic customs gave way more and more to the Saxon influence both in the court and in the country. The king identified

himself with his new nobles and with his English earldom, so that Lothian, as it was the richest, became the most prominent part of his dominions, and the true Scots of the North came to be looked on as savages and aliens, the natural enemies and perpetual disturbers of all peace and prosperity. The records of this period are so very scanty that any ideas of the state of the country or of the habits of the people are extremely misty, and are chiefly drawn from incidental notices of Scottish matters in the chronicles of other lands. The chief architectural fragments which remain to bear witness to its Christianity are the round bell-towers in the Irish style at Brechin and at Abernethy. The church at Brechin was founded by Kenneth the Third.

The most noteworthy events in this the first period of Scottish history are the repulses which the Romans met with from the Picts; the coming of the Scots from Ireland; their union with the Picts under Kenneth MacAlpin; the introduction of Christianity by Columba; the conversion of the Picts and of the English, and the joining on of Strathclyde and Lothian to the Scottish Crown. We must also notice the strong feeling of hereditary right which kept the succession for so long in one family, and the remarkable revolution brought about by the English exiles, which completely turned the current of the national life, and led to much strife and bitterness between the two races of which the nation was made up.

Chapter II

THE ENGLISH PERIOD. 1097–1286.

IN the beginning of Eadgar's reign Magnus Barfod, King of Norway, made good his right to the Orkneys and the Scandinavian earldom on the mainland. He seized the two earls and placed his own son Sigurd in their stead. He then sailed for the Sudereys, at that time dependencies of the Kingdom of Man, wasted them with fire and sword, marked his claim by sailing round each island, and, by way of proving his right to Kintyre, is said to have had himself dragged across the isthmus that joins it to the mainland in his ship, with his hand on the tiller. On his death the islands fell back into the hands of the former owners, and their descendants, the Lords of the Isles, were afterward wont to declare themselves vassals of Norway whenever it suited their convenience. In one respect only did this expedition differ from the former piratical descents of the Northmen. This time the sacred island of Iona was respected, and the church, so lately rebuilt, was left uninjured by the special order of the king.

The friendly relations with England were maintained and strengthened by the marriage of Eadgar's sister, who took the name of Matilda, with Henry I., the youngest son of William the Conqueror. She proved nearly as great a blessing to the English as her English mother had been to the Scots, for she taught the king to "love his folk," and was affectionately remembered by them as "Maud, the Good Queen." On his deathbed Eadgar separated Strathclyde from the rest of the kingdom, and conferred it on his brother David as a return for the wise counsel with which that brother had helped him through his very uneventful reign. Alexander I. (1107-1124), unlike his easy-tempered brother, had a strong will and unyielding spirit. His reign was consequently a troubled one, as always happened when the Scots king tried to rule instead of being ruled by his turbulent subjects. His first difficulties were of course in the North. The men of Merne and Moray came forth secretly and swiftly, hoping to surprise and

murder him; but their tactics were upset by Alexander's discovery of the plot and rapid march to meet them. They were thus forced to fight, and were thoroughly beaten. The signal vengeance taken by the king after his victory won for him the title of "the Fierce," and to commemorate this success he founded the monastery of Scone.

Alexander deserves to be remembered for the spirit and wisdom with which he upheld the independence of the national church. Anxious to carry out in the same spirit the reforms already begun by his mother, he appointed her confessor Turgot, Prior of Durham, to the See of St. Andrews, and asked the Archbishop of York to consecrate him. The archbishop on this claimed the canonical obedience of all the Scottish bishops, declaring that the whole country was in his province. This demand was clearly unjust; for, though Lothian was undoubtedly so, the Scottish Church was older than his own, and had never been dependent on any foreign see. This difficulty was got over by the consecration of the new bishop by the Bishop of London, and Turgot was installed as head of the church from which his own priory of Durham had originally branched off. Instead of identifying himself with the interests of this new charge, he did all he could to bring the Scottish Church under the authority of the Archbishop of York, so that he and the king soon quarreled; and as the king refused to let the bishop go to Rome to lay his case before the Pope, he resigned, and went back to Durham, where he shortly afterward died. To evade the claims of York, the king resolved that his next bishop should be chosen from the southern province. Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, the friend and biographer of Anselm the Archbishop, accepted the bishopric. But he proved no better than Turgot, for he persisted in considering himself and his bishopric as dependent on Canterbury, and as the king would on no account agree to this, he too resigned and went away. Though he afterward repented, and proposed to return, it was then too late, for Robert, Prior of Scone, had been appointed in his stead. As Alexander left no children, his brother David succeeded him, so that Strathclyde or Cumbria was reunited to the kingdom.

The usual rising in Moray took place in the early part of the reign of David I. (1124-1153), being an attempt on the throne while the king was in England. The constable of the kingdom, the first on record, defeated them; but as the rebellion still contin-

ued, David in alarm asked and obtained the aid of the barons of the north of England. He was preparing for his northern march, when the Celts took fright, and gave up their chief, who was imprisoned. The district of Moray was declared forfeited, and was divided among the Norman knights whom David had drawn round him when prince of Strathclyde.

In 1135 Henry I. of England died, and David, who had been among the first to swear fealty, for the lands he held in England, to his own niece Matilda, daughter and heiress of Henry, was now the first to take up arms in defense of her right against Stephen. David at once marched into England, received the homage of the northern barons, and took possession of all the northern strongholds, except Bamborough, in Matilda's name. Stephen came north, but peace was made between them, by which David's son Henry was invested with the English possessions. Henry went south with Stephen, at whose court he took precedence of the English barons. This roused their jealousy, and they straightway left the court in a body.

David, highly indignant at this insult, recalled his son, and the next year prepared to invade England again, nor would he agree to any terms of peace, unless Henry were put in immediate possession of Northumberland. In 1138 his army ravaged the northern counties, and won some successes. But their excesses, and the fear that David, as the representative of the English line, was trying to win the English crown for himself, at length roused the chivalry of northern England, who, forgetting party feeling, made common cause against the common foe. A few years before they had prepared to help David in suppressing those very Celts whom he was now leading against themselves. Against such men, inspired by such righteous indignation, the mixed multitude of Scots, Picts of Galloway, Welshmen from Strathclyde, Northmen from the Orkneys, and English from the Lothians, who with a body of Norman knights made up the so-called Scottish host, had but small chance of success. This chance was made still smaller by what proved fatal to the cause of Scotland in many an after fight—the inevitable squabbles between the rival races. The Celts were jealous of the Norman strangers, and clamored so loudly for their right of leading the van that David at last gave in to them. His own better judgment would have led him to give the task of breaking the hostile ranks to his well-armed, well-mounted horse-

men, leaving it to the infantry to follow up their advantage. The two armies met on a moor, near Northallerton, where the English were drawn up round their Standard, which was so singular that from it the battle took its name, the "Battle of the Standard." It was the consecrated wafer hoisted on a ship's mast, with the banners of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfrith of Ripon floating round it. Before the battle commenced a last attempt for peace was made by two Norman barons, whose descendants afterward played a great part in Scottish history. These were Robert de Brus and Bernard de Bailleul. They were friends of David and held lands from him, and they begged him not to fight with the old friends who had formerly stood by him. As he was unmoved by all their entreaties, they renounced their allegiance, and the battle began. The Galloway men made a fierce onslaught on the English, but were driven back and beaten down by the English arrows. They fled, and by their flight spread confusion through the army. The panic was made greater by a cry that the king was slain, and though David did all he could to rally the fugitives round his banner, the ancient dragon of Wessex, he was forced to retire upon Carlisle, where his son Henry joined him a few days after. But this defeat did not drive the Scots out of England, and fighting still kept up.

Next year peace was made. Earl Henry was invested with the earldom of Northumberland, though Stephen kept Bamborough and Newcastle, and David continued to administer the affairs of the northern counties till his death. Two years after this peace he again took up arms in favor of Matilda, and it was by David in his court at Carlisle that her son Henry of Anjou was knighted. The close of David's life was embittered by the death of his only son Henry, a just man and a brave soldier, whose loss was universally lamented. He had married the daughter of the Earl of Surrey, and left three sons, the two eldest of whom reigned in succession. After the death of his son David sent his eldest grandson through the provinces to be acknowledged as his successor, and within a few months he died at Carlisle, and was buried beside his parents at Dunfermline.

David was both a good man and a great king. He upheld the honor of his kingdom abroad, and did so much for the welfare of his people at home that most of the social and political institutions of the later kingdom were afterward ascribed to him. It is

true that he introduced a foreign baronage, for he encouraged many Norman barons to come to his court, and by the lands which he gave them induced them to settle in the country. He thus gave great offense to the native chiefs; but he did not forget the interests of the commons, for he increased the number of the royal burghs and granted many privileges and immunities to the burghers. The life of David has been written by his friend and admirer, Æthelred, the Abbot of Rievaulx. He has drawn an attractive picture of an able and virtuous prince, kindly and courteous alike to high and low; ever ready to listen to the complaints of all his subjects and to set wrong right, and never turning his face away from any poor man. He tells us how the king himself dealt out justice to his subjects, and in his progress through the several districts of his kingdom used, on set days, in person to hear the suits and to redress the wrongs of the poor and oppressed among his people. Six bishoprics were either founded or restored by him, and many abbeys date their foundation from his reign. He carried on the work of church reform by inducing the Culdees to conform to more regular ways, on pain of being turned out of their monasteries. His reign lasted twenty-nine years, during which time the country continued to advance steadily in wealth, fertility, and civilization. There is little doubt that, had his successor possessed the same abilities, the future boundary of the kingdom would have been the Tees instead of the Tweed.

Malcolm was not quite twelve years old when he came to the throne in 1153. The fact that he retained possession of it proves that the principle of hereditary succession was gaining ground, and that his grandfather David had put down the unruly spirit of the northern clans and had more firmly established a regular government. An uprising in Galloway took place while Malcolm was in Aquitaine, but on his return he reduced the district to his rule. A few years later a dangerous enemy, the Lord of Argyle, who ruled the western coast with the power, though without the title of king, rose against Malcolm. He landed with a large force, near Renfrew on the Clyde but, being treacherously slain, his followers dispersed. An increase of power was thus won for the Crown within the limits of the kingdom, but on the other hand the northern counties of England, which had been held by David, were lost, for Henry of England obliged Malcolm to give up all claim to them in 1157. At the same time Malcolm was invested with the Honor of Hunt-

ingdon on the same terms as those on which it had been held by David.

William, surnamed the Lion, succeeded his brother Malcolm in 1165. He was eager to regain the earldom of Northumberland, which his father had held and which his brother had lost. As Henry of England refused it to him, he aided the sons of that monarch in their rebellion against their father, and when Henry was absent in France he invaded his kingdom and took several strongholds. But by his own imprudence he was surprised and captured, with the best of his nobles, and was sent for greater security to Falaise, in Normandy, July, 1174.

In the end of the year William regained his freedom by signing a treaty called the Convention of Falaise, the hard terms of which were most humiliating, both to him and to Scotland. He was in future to hold his kingdom on the same terms of vassalage as those by which he now held Lothian, and as a token of further dependence his barons and clergy were also to do homage to the English king, who was to be put in possession of the principal strongholds. His brother, David, Earl of Huntingdon, and twenty-one other barons were to remain as hostages till the strongholds were given up, and on their release each was to leave his son or next heir as a warrant of good faith. The homage was performed in the following year, when William met Henry at York; and the King of Scots, with his earls, barons, free-tenants, and clergy, became the liegemen of the King of England in St. Peter's Minster. The clergy swore to lay the kingdom under an interdict, and the laity to hold by their English overlord, should William prove unfaithful to him. This treaty remained in force till the death of Henry in 1189, when Richard of England, who was in want of money for his crusade, released William, for the sum of 10,000 marks, from these extorted obligations and restored the strongholds, though he refused to give up to him the coveted earldom.

When John succeeded his brother on the throne of England, William did such homage to him as the King of Scots had been wont to render to the King of England before the Treaty of Falaise. He met John at Lincoln, whither he was escorted by a brilliant retinue of English barons. But there was no kindly feeling between the two kings, and for some time both kings kept threatening armies on the border.

At a great council held in 1176, the Archbishop of York claimed Scotland as a part of his province, and called on the Scottish clergy to acknowledge their dependence. They protested and appealed to the Pope, who forbade the archbishop to press his claim. Clement III. in 1188 confirmed their claim of independence, on the ground that the Church of Scotland was in immediate dependence on the Holy See.

During William's captivity, Galloway revolted, and until the death of its chief there was little peace. William's nephew Roland then seized Galloway, drove out his opponents, and rebuilt the royal castles. William used his influence to induce Henry to confirm Roland in possession, and thereby gained a devoted and faithful ally. It was mainly by his aid that William was enabled to put down a formidable rising in the North.

During this reign the free towns began to rise into notice. Their privilege of trade and right to govern themselves was recognized by a charter granted to the city of Aberdeen, in which William confirmed his burghers north of the Mount in their right of holding their own court or "free anse," as they had done in the time of his grandfather David. Thus we see that the towns of the north of Scotland were united for mutual support a century before the rise of the great continental Hansa, which bound together by a similar league the trading cities of the Baltic. Some of the most important towns date their charters from William, and he extended the influence of civilization in the North by holding his court in such remote places as Elgin, Nairn, and Inverness. The only religious foundation of this reign was the abbey of Arbroath. It was dedicated to the newest saint in the calendar, Thomas of Canterbury. William died at Stirling in 1214, leaving one son, Alexander, who succeeded him.

Alexander's accession was the signal for one of the usual risings in Moray; but as the power of the Crown in that district was now stronger than it had been in earlier times, this rising was more easily put down than any former one had been. In the great struggle between John and the barons in England, Alexander joined the barons in hopes of getting back Northumberland. After the death of John, Alexander did the usual homage to Henry III. and was invested with the Honor of Huntingdon. Four years later the bond between them was drawn closer by the marriage of Alexander to Joanna, Henry's sister. This alliance was followed

by a lasting peace, though Alexander still claimed Northumberland, and Henry upheld the right of the Archbishop of York to supremacy over the Scottish Church.

In 1222 an attempt was made to lay down a definite boundary between the two countries. Six commissioners on either side were appointed, and though the exact course of the line was disputed, from that time it continued pretty much what it is now, though a wide tract on either side was claimed alternately by both nations and belonged in reality to neither.

Alexander died on an expedition to the Western Isles, and his son Alexander, a child of eight years, was crowned with great pomp at Scone, the ancient crowning place, where the famous Stone of Destiny was kept. The tradition was that no one who had not been enthroned on this stone was the lawful King of Scots. Alexander married Margaret, daughter of Henry III., and did homage for the lands he held in England, but evaded Henry's claim of homage for Scotland, pleading the necessity of consulting his advisers before giving an answer on so difficult a matter. This question was brought up again in 1278, when Alexander went to Westminster to acknowledge and to do homage to Edward I., and he gave for answer that he did homage for his English fiefs alone and not for his kingdom. Edward asserted his right as overlord of the kingdom, but he did not then attempt to enforce it. During Alexander's reign came the last invasion of the Northmen, in 1262, under Hakon, with a great fleet. They made numerous raids and performed various exploits. When an attempt was made at a peaceable agreement, the king was at first willing to give up all claim to the Hebrides, but the Scots purposely delayed coming to terms, as they expected that the autumn storms would soon help them to get rid of their enemy. Nor were their hopes disappointed, for in the beginning of October a violent tempest rose, and the fleet was dispersed and the army defeated. Hakon died, and his son, in 1266, agreed to give up Man and the Isles for 1000 marks down, and the promise of 100 yearly. In 1286 Alexander was killed by a fall from his horse.

No chronicles of this period, written by natives of Scotland, have come down to us. But there was one poet who was held in great repute, not only for his verses, but for his prophecies. This was Thomas Learmouth of Ercildoum, called "Thomas the Rhymer," and "True Thomas," from the general belief in the

truth of his predictions. He is said to have foretold that great national calamity, the king's death, under the figure of a great storm that should blow, "so stark and strang, that all Scotland sall reu efter rycht lang." Another Scotchman of note was Michael Scot, the famous wizard. The buildings of this period were chiefly the churches and abbeys founded by Margaret and her descendants. They were all in the same style as contemporary buildings in England. There were as yet very few castles, that is fortified buildings of solid masonry, in the kingdom. The great strongholds, such as Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dunbarton, were steep rocks, made so inaccessible by nature that they needed but little strengthening from art. Dwelling-houses seem to have been generally built of wood.

The second period of the national history breaks off abruptly with the death of Alexander. It had begun with the dethronement of Donald Bane, the last Celtic king, nearly two hundred years before, and during that time the boundary of Scotland had been extended by the annexation of Argyle and of the Isles, while her two dependencies of Lothian and Galloway had been drawn more closely to her, though they still remained separate and distinct. Throughout this period the influence of England, though peaceable, had been stronger than it was ever to be again. English laws and English customs had been brought in, and had, in many cases, taken the place of the old Celtic usages. The Celtic maers had been removed to make way for the sheriffs of the Crown. But, as Scotland was not divided like England into shires, the sheriffs were not, as in England, the reeves of the already existing shires, but officers who were placed by the king over certain districts. These districts or sheriffdoms became the counties of later times. Feudalism after the Norman model, with all its burdensome exactions and oppressions, had been brought in and had taken firmer root in Scotland than it ever did in England. The native chiefs had been displaced by foreign nobles, so that a purely Norman baronage held the lands, whether peopled by a Celtic or a Saxon peasantry. In some cases the new owners founded families afterward known under Celtic names; for, while the Celts gave their own names to the lands on which they settled, the Normans took the names of the lands conferred upon them and bore them as their own. The long peace with England, which had lasted unbroken for nearly a century, had been marked by great social progress. The large pro-

portion of land that was now under the plow proves that during this untroubled time husbandry must have thriven, roads and bridges were many and in good repair, and the trading towns had made great advances in riches and power. Hitherto no one town had distinctly taken its place as the capital. Saint John's Town, or Perth, had, from its connection with Scone, some claim to the first place, but the king held his court or his assize indifferently at any of the royal burghs. These burghs were of great importance in the state, and, as the burgesses of the royal burghs were all vassals holding direct from the Crown, they acted in some sort as a check on the growing power of the nobles. The burghers had the right of governing themselves by their own laws, and were divided into two groups. Those north of the Scots Water or Firth of Forth were bound together by a league like the great continental Hansa, and known by the same name; while those in Lothian, represented by the four principal among them—Roxburgh, Stirling, Edinburgh, and Berwick—held their "court of the four burghs," which is still represented by the "Convention of Royal Burghs" which meets once a year in Edinburgh. Nor were the Scottish towns of this period in any way behind the cities of the Continent. Berwick, the richest and the greatest, was said by a writer of the time to rival London. Inverness had a great reputation for shipbuilding. A ship which was built there called forth the envy and wonder of the French nobles of that time. But this happy state of things was brought to an end by the death of the king, and the long years of war and misery that followed went far to sweep away all traces of the high state of civilization and prosperity that had been reached by the country in this, the golden age of Scottish history.

Chapter III

STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE. 1286-1314

WITHIN a month from Alexander's death the Estates met at Scone, and appointed six regents to govern the kingdom for Margaret, the Maid of Norway, a child of three years, who, on the death of her grandfather Alexander, succeeded to the throne. Three of these regents were for the old kingdom, the land north of the Scots Water, and three for Lothian with Galloway. This division seems to show that the different tenure of these provinces was still understood and acted on. The Scots of the original Celtic kingdom and the Englishmen of Lothian still kept aloof from one another. In the meantime Robert Bruce, a Norman baron whose forefathers had settled in Annandale in the twelfth century, made an attempt to seize the Crown by force. He laid claim to it by right of descent, and appealed to Edward I. of England as overlord to support him in his supposed right. At the same time other appeals against him were made. Edward did not encourage Bruce, but on the contrary he agreed to the solution that the Lady Margaret should be married to Bruce's eldest son, Edward. This agreement was accepted by the Clergy, Nobility, and Community of Scotland. It also provided that the rights and liberties of Scotland should remain untouched; that no native of Scotland was to be called on to do homage or to answer for any crime beyond the border; in short, that Scotland was to keep all the rights and liberties which belong to a distinct national life. But this union was prevented by the death of the Maid of Norway on her way to Scotland.

Margaret was the last of the legitimate descendants of William the Lion. The nearest heirs were John Balliol, Robert Bruce, and John Hastings. Besides these there were a host of smaller claimants whose pretensions were quite untenable; but there was one other who, though his claim was very shadowy, was first in power and position among the claimants. This was Florence, Count of Holland, and Bruce, supported by his son, by James the Steward and by other nobles, made a bond with Florence by which each

pledged himself, in case he got the kingdom, to give the other a third of it. Edward, as overlord, was appealed to to settle the matter, as it was feared by the regents that Robert Bruce would seize the Crown by force, and all the competitors seem to have acknowledged Edward's right of superiority.

Edward accordingly summoned a council at Norham, in June, 1291, to decide this important case. The real contest lay between Bruce and Balliol. Nearly all the claimants were Norman barons holding lands of Edward. Both Bruce and Balliol had been granted lands by David. Bruce's plea was that, though he was the child of a younger sister, still his right was better than that of Balliol, as he was one degree nearer their common forefather, and he brought forward many precedents to prove that in such a case nearness in degree was to be preferred to seniority.

Edward decided with perfect justice, according to the ideas of modern law, that Balliol, as the grandson of the eldest daughter, had the best right to the throne. In early times in Scotland no one would have thought of doubting Bruce's claim as next in degree. As Edward refused to divide the dominions among the heirs of the three daughters, it is clear that he looked on Scotland as a dependent kingdom, and not as an ordinary fief, which would have been shared among the three rivals. Judgment was given at Berwick, November, 1292, eighteen months after the first meeting of the council. During this time the government had been nominally in the hands of the guardians of the kingdom; but Edward had the strongholds, twenty-three in number, in his own hands, and seems to have looked upon the two countries as really united. At the end of the suit he gave up the strongholds, and by so doing showed that he meant to act fairly.

The great scheme of Edward's life was to unite Britain under one government, of which he himself was to be the head. He had already added to England the dependent principality of Wales. Hitherto his actions toward Scotland had been perfectly fair and upright. In 1292 he placed John Balliol, the rightful heir, on the throne: but his way of placing him there was not strictly just; the conditions which he required were such as he had no right to exact, nor John to accept. He made him do homage for his kingdom as though it had been an English fief. Now, though this was true as far as concerned Lothian, and partly true as concerned Strathclyde, as concerned Scotland it was untrue. Although Scotland had, since

924, been in some degree subject to the King of England, this dependence was no more than was implied by the "commendation," the very natural relation of the weaker to the stronger. But it must be remembered that three centuries had passed since that first commendation, and in that time the original simplicity of the feudal tenure had been altogether changed and in great measure forgotten. Edward looked on the three parts of Scotland as fiefs, and therefore subject to the same burdens as his other fiefs; the Scots knew that they were not thus subject, and they therefore argued that their kingdom was in no way dependent on England; thus both parties were partly right and partly wrong. Even the amount of dependence implied in the original commendation had, in the last reign, been refused by the Scottish king, and had not been insisted on by the English one. But John Balliol was weak and foolish, while Edward was wise, strong, and determined to rule the whole country indirectly through his submissive vassal.

John was duly crowned and enthroned on the Stone of Destiny, after which he renewed his homage to Edward. He then summoned the Estates at Scone. This was the first meeting of the Estates which was called a parliament. John was not popular with his subjects, who looked on him as a tool in the hands of Edward. Before many months had passed an appeal was made to Edward from a decision in Scotland, and as this was a violation of treaty rights, Edward forced John to renounce them. More appeals followed, and then John was summoned to appear before the Parliament of England, was voted a contumacious vassal, and commanded to give up the three principal strongholds of his kingdom into the hands of his overlord till he should give satisfaction.

In 1294 war broke out between France and England, and John, with the nobles and commons of his kingdom, entered into an alliance for mutual defense with Eric of Norway and Philip of France against Edward. This was the beginning of the foreign policy maintained in Scotland for several centuries, until the Reformation, when religious sympathy got the better of national hatred, and Roman Catholic France became more dreaded than Protestant England. In compliance with this treaty a Scottish army crossed the border and swept and wasted the northern counties.

Edward's dealings with Scotland now became those of a conqueror instead of a protector. The beginning of the war by the

Scots gave him the excuse for which he was waiting for conquering their country. He at once marched northward, with a great army, and besieged and took Berwick, a large and wealthy trading town, and in vengeance reduced it to the rank of a common market-town. While he was at Berwick John's renunciation of fealty was sent to him by the party for independence, who were keeping their king in custody lest he should repent and submit. Then he marched on with many successes to Edinburgh and Perth. To crush out all idea of an independent kingdom, and to let the people see that they were conquered, he carried off from Scone the Stone of Destiny, with which the fate of the Scottish monarchy was supposed to be mystically joined. This stone was removed to Westminster, and was placed under the seat of the coronation-chair. He also took with him the Holy Rood of Queen Margaret, and obliged all the nobles who submitted to him to swear allegiance on this much valued relic. Edward did not go further north than Elgin, and he returned to Berwick in 1296, having marched all through Scotland in twenty-one weeks. All the nobles and prelates did personal homage to him. John submitted himself to Edward's pleasure, and was degraded and dispossessed. He was then sent as a prisoner to England, was afterward made over to the keeping of the Bishop of Vicenza, the Pope's representative, and at last he retired to his own estates in Picardy, where he died in 1315. Edward treated his kingdom as a fief forfeited by the treason of the vassal who held it. This notion of the thirteenth century, that the fief was forfeited by treason, would not have occurred to anyone in the tenth century, when probably John would only have been deposed, and someone else set up in his stead. The seizure of Normandy from John of England by Philip of France was a case of the same kind, and quite as unprecedented.

Edward at once took measures for joining Scotland on as an integral part of the English kingdom. He took care that the strongholds should be commanded and garrisoned by persons without any Scottish connection. He appointed Englishmen to the chief offices; took measures for the establishment of Courts of Chancery and Exchequer at Berwick, and summoned a council of merchants to consider the best measures for the future conduct of the trade and commerce of the country.

The Celts in the North looked on this change in the government with apathy. To them it probably made little difference who

sat on the Scottish throne, and Edward had not entered their district. The Norman nobles quietly agreed to it, for they were afraid of losing their estates in England. But it roused a spirit of defiance and opposition where resistance was least to be looked for—among the Lowlanders. They were the descendants of the earliest Teutonic settlers, and had remained more purely English in blood and speech than their kinsfolk on the southern side of the border. This latent feeling of discontent gradually ripened into rebellion, and the standard of revolt was raised by William Wallace, who, unlike most of his countrymen, had not sworn allegiance to Edward. He surprised and cut to pieces the English garrison at Lanark, and slew the newly appointed sheriff of Ayr. This outbreak was followed by similar attacks on detached bodies of the troops in occupation. After these successes Wallace was joined by William of Douglas, a renowned soldier, and by Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, grandson of the original claimant of the crown. But there was a want of system and of unity of purpose in the nation, and this noble effort on the part of the people was not seconded by the nobles, and when a large English army was sent by Edward to put down the rising, those of the nobles who had joined the popular movement deserted. But when Edward, who believed the revolt to be completely crushed, was absent in Flanders, Wallace mustered the people of the Lowlands north of the Tay and made himself master of the strongholds in that district.

The English army was now hastening northward. Wallace resolved to give it battle on the carse of Stirling, a level plain, across which the River Forth winds in and out among the meadows like the links of a silver chain. Wallace showed his skill as a general by the choice of the ground on which he posted his men. He drew them up within one of the links of the river, which swept round in front between them and the English, while a steep rocky hill, called the Abbey Craig, rose right behind them and protected the rear. The English had to cross the river by a narrow bridge. Wallace waited till half of them were over, and then attacked them. Taken thus at a disadvantage, they were easily routed. The panic spread to those on the opposite bank, who fled in disorder. After this action, called the Battle of Stirling and fought September 11, 1297, the Scots recovered the strongholds south of the Forth, and Wallace acted as guardian of the kingdom in the name of King John, and with the consent of the commons. Unhappily the Scots

were not content with driving out the invaders, but carried the war over the border, and wasted the northern counties of England with all the fierceness and cruelty of brigands.

Edward returned from Flanders and raised a large army for the subjection of Scotland. The king himself led the army. The Scots wasted the country and retreated; and Wallace, who knew well the weakness of his own force, tried to avoid a battle till the great army of Edward should be exhausted from want of food, but at Falkirk the king forced his enemy to give battle. At Stirling Wallace had won the day by his happy choice of the ground; he now showed still greater skill by the way in which he drew up his little army. It was made up for the most part of footmen, who at that time were held of no account as soldiers, in comparison with mounted men-at-arms. He drew them up in circular masses; the spearmen, kneeling, without and the bowmen within. But, though they fought well and held their ground bravely, and the English horse were driven back by the spear-points, the Scots were at last beaten down by force of numbers, and the English won the day, 1298. After this defeat Wallace resigned the guardianship. In the spring of 1303 Edward marched north at the head of a great army and again subdued the whole country. All the leaders in the late rising were left unharmed in life, liberty, or estate, with the exception of William Wallace. He was required to submit unconditionally to the king's grace.

Wallace had been on the Continent ever since the battle of Falkirk. He now came back, but was betrayed by his servant, and sent to London. He was there tried for treason and rebellion against Edward. He pleaded in his own defense that he had never sworn fealty to Edward. In spite of this he was found guilty, condemned to death, and hanged, drawn, and quartered, according to the barbarous practice which was then coming into use in England.

Edward then set to work to complete the union of the two kingdoms. In the meantime Scotland was to be governed by a lieutenant aided by a council of barons and churchmen. It was to be represented in the English Parliament by ten deputies—four churchmen, four barons, and two members of the commons, one for the country north of the Firths, one for the south. These members attended one Parliament at Westminster, and an ordinance was issued for the government of Scotland. Officers were appointed;

the strongholds were put under governors for the king, and an inquiry was ordered into the state of the laws in order to take measures for their amendment. Edward's policy in all this was to win favor with the people and the members of the council, although many of them, such as Bruce and Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, had taken part in the last rising. The king's peace was now offered to all rebels who would profit by it. But the great difficulty in dealing with the Scots was that they never knew when they were conquered, and, just when Edward hoped that his scheme for union was carried out, they rose in arms once more.

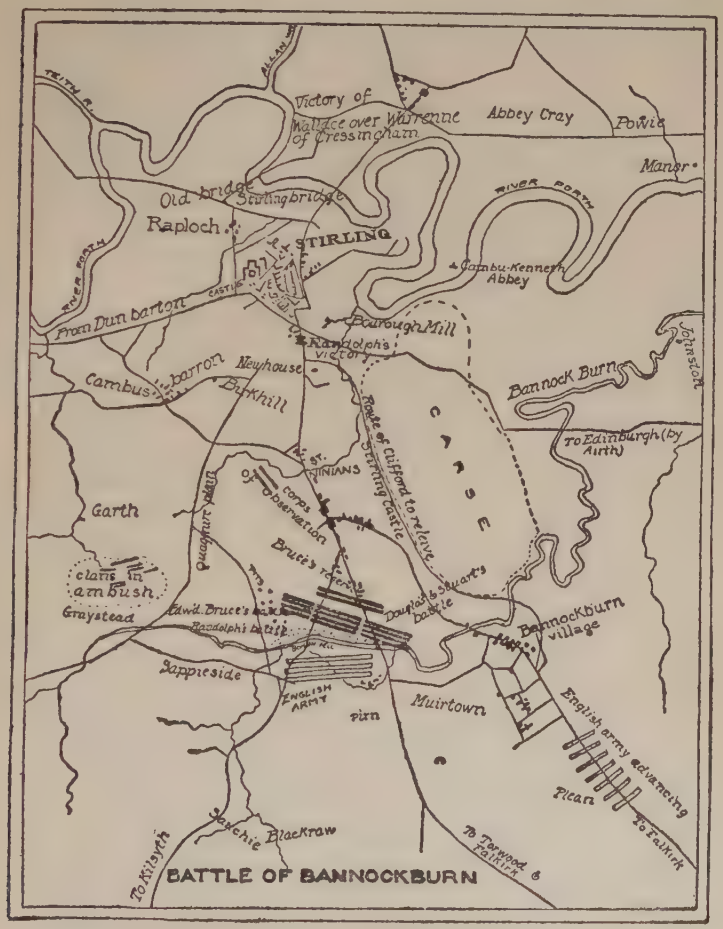
The leader this time was Robert Bruce, the grandson and heir of the rival of Balliol. He had joined Wallace, but had again sworn fealty to Edward, and had since then received many favors from the English king. Bruce signed a bond with William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, who had also been one of Wallace's supporters. In this bond each party swore to stand by the other in all his undertakings, no matter what, and not to act without the knowledge of the other. The signing of such bonds became a prominent and distinctive feature in the after-history of Scotland. This bond became known to Edward, and Bruce, afraid of his anger, fled from London to Dumfries. There in a church he wounded the Red Comyn, the next heir after the Balliols, whom one of his followers then slew. By this murder and sacrilege Bruce put himself at once out of the pale of the law and of the church, but by it he became the nearest heir to the crown, after the Balliols. This gave him a great hold on the people, whose faith in the virtue of hereditary succession was strong, and on whom the English yoke weighed heavily. On March 27, 1306, Bruce was crowned with as near an imitation of the old ceremonies as could be compassed on such short notice.

Edward determined this time to put down the Scots with rigor. A new governor was appointed, those concerned in the murder of Red Comyn were denounced as traitors, and death was to be the fate of all persons taken in arms. Bruce was excommunicated by a special bull from the Pope. Relatives of Bruce were imprisoned and put to death as traitors. This, the first noble blood that had been shed in the popular cause, did much to unite the sympathy of the nobles with the commons, who had hitherto been the only sufferers from the oppression of the conquerors. Edward this time made greater preparations than ever. All classes of his subjects

from all parts of his dominions were invited to join the army, and he exhorted his son, Edward, Prince of Wales, and 300 newly-created knights, to win their spurs worthily in the reduction of the contumacious Scots. It was well for Scotland that he did not live to carry out his vows of vengeance. He died at Burgh-on-the-Sands, July 30. His death proved a turning-point in the history of Scotland, for, though the English still remained in possession of the strongholds, Edward II. took no effective steps to crush the rebels. He only brought the army raised by his father as far as Cumnock in Ayrshire, and retreated without doing anything.

For several years King Robert was an outlaw and a fugitive with but a handful of followers. Their lives were in constant danger. Whenever an opportunity offered, they made daring attacks on the English; at other times they saved their lives by hair-breadth escapes from their pursuit. The Celts of the west and of Galloway, who had been won over to the English interest, were against them, and the relatives of Red Comyn were Bruce's most deadly enemies. At one time Bruce had met with so many defeats that he left Scotland and thought of giving up the struggle and going to the Holy Land. Tradition says that the example of a spider which had tried six times unsuccessfully to throw its web, and succeeded the seventh, stirred him up to fresh courage and endurance. Bruce took it as a happy omen, and went back to Scotland. He joined some of his followers in the Isle of Arran. From the island they went to the mainland, and from that time the tide of fortune seemed to turn, and to bring him good luck instead of bad. Still he had to go through many perils. The story of his exploits has been handed down to us by John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen. He describes Bruce as a strong, tall man, so cheerful and good-humored that he kept up the spirits of his followers no matter what mishaps befell them, always first in danger, and often owing his life to his own wit and daring. The first decided success of Bruce was the defeat of an old enemy, the Earl of Buchan, who with his followers joined the English and forced Bruce to fight near Inverary. Bruce won the day, and his followers so spoiled the lands of the Comyn that this fray was long remembered as the "Herrying of Buchan." At length the clergy recognized Bruce as their king, and this virtual taking off of the excommunication had a great effect upon the people. The little band of patriots increased by degrees. The strongholds were won back, till at last only

Stirling was left to the English, and it was so sorely pressed that the governor agreed to give it up to the Scots if he were not relieved before St. John Baptist's Day, 1314. Roused by the fear of losing this, the most prized of all Edward II.'s conquests, the



English gathered in great force, and marched 100,000 strong to the relief of the garrison.

The Scots were posted so as to command the plain or carse of Stirling, which the English must cross to reach the castle. They were greatly inferior to the English in numbers, and had scarcely any cavalry, in which the chief strength of the English force lay.

Robert divided them into four divisions. Their leaders were Sir James Douglas; Randolf, his nephew; James the Steward and Bruce's own brother Edward; and Bruce himself commanded the fourth division. One flank of the army rested on the Bannock, a small stream or burn, from which the battle took its name. Before the battle King Robert was challenged to single combat by Henry of Bohun, an English knight, but the king raised the spirit of his followers by cleaving the man's skull. The English began the fight by a volley of arrows, but their archers were dispersed by the small body of the Scottish horsemen whom King Robert sent to charge them. The English cavalry then charged the Scots, but they tried in vain to break the compact bristling masses of the Scottish spearmen, and themselves fell into confusion. When the English mistook some moving camp-followers for reinforcements, they fled, and the defeat became a total and shameful rout. King Edward and 500 knights never drew rein till they reached Dunbar, whence they took ship for Berwick. Great spoil and many noble captives fell that day to the share of the victors.

By this battle, June 24, 1314, won against tremendous odds, the Saxons of the Lowlands decided their own fate and that of the Celtic people by whose name they were called, and to whose kingdom they chose to belong. Three more centuries were still to pass before Edward I.'s great idea of a union could be carried out. Bannockburn is noteworthy among battles as being one of the first to prove the value of Wallace's great discovery that footmen, when rightly understood and skillfully handled, were, after all, better than the mounted men-at-arms hitherto deemed invincible. Like the fields on which the Flemings and the Swiss about the same time overthrew their oppressors, this victory of the Scots stands forth as a bright example, showing how, even in that age of feudal tyranny a few men of set purpose, fighting for their common liberty, could withstand a great mass of feudal retainers fighting simply at the bidding of their lords. The faithful friends of Bruce, those who had shared his dangers and helped him to win his crown, were no way behind their leader in courage and heroism. The most famous of them all was James of Douglas, son of that Douglas who had been the friend and supporter of Wallace. About them all have been told some wonderful tales, which, true or not, show the spirit of the times.

In this chapter we have seen how Scotland lost her independ-

THE CLAN OF THE MACDONALDS AT THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN

Painting by Harrington Mann

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ence by the selfish quarrels of her nobles and the weakness of her king John Balliol; how the rising of Wallace, the first effort for regaining her ancient freedom, was confined solely to the people without the nobles; how it came to nothing from the want of unity of purpose in the nation; how Scotland, after the failure of this attempt, had lost her separate national life and had been united to England; how, when all hope seemed lost, the people rose under a leader who was really a Norman baron, and therefore as much a foreigner to them as any of the governors placed over them by Edward; and how by one great effort they shook off the yoke of the invaders and drove them from the soil.

Chapter IV

THE INDEPENDENT KINGDOM. 1314-1419

THE independence which Scotland had lost was won back on the field of Bannockburn. She was to live on as an independent kingdom, not to sink into a mere province of England; but as the English refused to acknowledge her independence, the war was carried on by repeated invasions and cruel wastings of the northern counties. Douglas, who was so popular that he was called the Good Lord James, and Randolf, whom Bruce created Earl of Moray, were the chief heroes of these raids. Edward was attacked, too, in another quarter, in Ireland, whither at the call of the Celtic chiefs Edward Bruce had gone, like his brother Robert, to win himself a crown by valor and popularity. King Robert himself took over troops to help him. Edward was crowned King of Ireland, but he was killed soon after. Meanwhile the war on the border still went on. Each side was struggling for Berwick. The Scots won it back, and the English did all they could to retake it, but in vain.

While the siege went on the Border counties were so sorely harried by the Scots that at last the Archbishop of York and the clergy took up arms in their defense. But they were thoroughly beaten, and this battle was called the Chapter of Mitton, from the number of clergy left dead on the field. Edward could have ended all this by acknowledging Robert as king, but he would not. A two years' truce was made in 1319, but as soon as it was ended he once more invaded Scotland with a large army. He found nothing but a wasted country, for the Scots had carried both provisions and cattle to the hills, nor would they come out to fight, though they harassed the rear of the retreating army. At last the people of the northern counties of England grew weary of the constant struggle. They had suffered so much loss from the inroads of the Scots that they at last resolved that, if the king would not make peace for them, they must come to terms with the enemy on their own account. Edward, who feared that he might thus lose a part of his kingdom, agreed to a thirteen years' truce, which was con-

cluded in 1323. In this treaty Robert was allowed to take his title of king, though the English would not give it to him. But when a few years later Edward was deposed and his son Edward III. placed in his stead, the new government would not confirm the truce in the form at first agreed on. The Scots upon this made another raid upon England, swept the country, and carried off their spoil before the eyes of a large English army. The Scots had in their plundering expeditions a great advantage over the English in the greater simplicity of their habits. They were mounted on small light horses, which at night were turned out to graze. They carried no provisions, except a small bag of oatmeal, which each man bore at his saddle, together with a thin iron plate on which he baked his meal into cakes. For the rest of their food they trusted to plunder. They burned and destroyed everything as they passed, and when they seized more cattle than they could use, they slew them and left them behind on the place where their camp had been.

As by this time Robert's title had, after much strife, been recognized by the Pope and other foreign powers, the English saw that they must acknowledge it, too. Therefore, a treaty was confirmed at Northampton in 1328 between Robert, King of Scotland, and the English king. The terms of this treaty were that Scotland as far as the old boundary lines should be perfectly independent, that the two kings should be faithful allies, and that neither should stir up the troublesome Celtic subjects of the other, either in Ireland or in the Highlands. As a further proof of good will, Joan, Edward's sister, was betrothed to Robert's infant son. By this treaty the original commendation of 924, and all the subsequent submissions to England, whether real or pretended, were done away with. It placed the kingdom on quite a new footing, for now Lothian and Strathclyde were as independent of England as the real Scotland had originally been. The long time of common suffering and common struggles had done for the nation what the good time before it had failed to do. It had knit together the three strands of the different races into one cord of national unity too strong for any outer influence again to sever. But during the long war there had also arisen that intense hatred of everything English which warped the future growth of the nation. This hatred drove Scotland to seek in France the model and ally that she had hitherto found in England, and the influence of France can from this period be distinctly traced in the laws, the architecture, and the manners

of the people. Robert's treaty with France was the beginning of the future foreign policy of Scotland. This was to make common cause with France against England, which country Scotland pledged herself to invade whenever France declared war against it.

Two of the meetings of the Estates or parliaments of this reign deserve notice. That of 1318 settled the succession to the Crown: first, on the direct male heirs in order of seniority; next on the direct female heirs; failing both, on the next of kin. An act was also passed by this parliament forbidding all holders of estates in Scotland from taking the produce or revenues of these lands out of the kingdom. This law acted as a sentence of forfeiture on the so-called Scottish barons who had larger estates in England than in Scotland, and who preferred living in the richer country. In the parliament of 1326, held at Cambuskenneth, the third Estate, that is, the members from the burghs, was first recognized as an essential part of the National Assembly.

King Robert owed his crown to the people and to the clergy; of the nobles but few were with him. His reign made a great change in the baronage, for with the forfeited estates of his opponents he laid the foundation of other families, the Douglases for instance, who in aftertimes proved the dangerous rivals of his own descendants. This was partly owing to his mistaken policy in granting royalties or royal powers within their own domains to certain of his own kindred and supporters. This practice, though at the time it strengthened his own hands, in the end weakened the power of the Crown. He died at Cardross in 1329, leaving one son. He was greatly mourned by the people, for he had won their sympathy by the struggles of his early career, and had become their pride by his final victories. They were justly proud of having a king who was no mere puppet in the hands of others, fit only to wear a crown and to spend money, but a brave, wise man, who had shown himself as able to suffer want and to fight against ill-fortune as the best and bravest among themselves. After King Robert's death, Douglas, to fulfill the king's last wish, set out with his heart for Spain, and died there fighting the Moors. Douglas was tall and strong, and his dark skin and black hair won him the nickname of "Black Douglas." The English hated and feared him, but his own people loved him well and remembered him long after his death.

David, who was only eight years old when his father died, was crowned at Scone and anointed, which no King of Scots had

ever before been, as this was considered the special right of independent sovereigns only. The government was in the hands of Randolf, who had been appointed regent by the Estates before the death of the late king. In the early part of the reign the country was torn by a struggle which, as it was really a civil war, was more dangerous to its independence and more hurtful to the national character than the long war with the English had been. This war was caused by those barons who, holding large estates in England, had, by marriage or by inheritance, become possessed of lands in Scotland, which they lost by the act of the last reign against absentees. Hitherto the so-called Scottish nobles had been Norman barons, with equal interests in both kingdoms, but this act forced them to decide for one or the other. Hence it was the mere chance of the respective value of their lands that decided whether such names as Percy and Douglas should be feared north or south of the border.

These disinherited barons gathered round Edward Balliol, the son of King John, and determined on an invasion of Scotland on their own account, giving out that they came to win back the Crown for him. They won some battles, took possession of Perth, and crowned Balliol at Scone, September 24, 1332. He acknowledged himself the vassal of Edward of England; but the latter did not openly take a part in the war, until the Scots, by their frequent raids across the border, could be said to have broken the Peace of Northampton.

In the spring of 1333 Edward III. invested Berwick, and the governor agreed to give it up if it were not relieved by the Scots within a given time. The regent, Archibald Douglas, brother to the Good Lord James, marched to raise the siege. It was very much the case of Bannockburn reversed, for now the English had the advantage of being posted on Halidon Hill, close by the town, while the Scots, the assailants, had to struggle through a marsh. The English archers won the day; the regent was killed; Berwick was forced to yield; and Balliol gave it over to the English, and placed all the strongholds south of the Forth in their hands. For three years longer there was much fighting on the border with pretty equal success, until the French wars drew the attention of Edward III. from Scotland, and then the national party began to get the upper hand. When Robert the High Steward became regent in 1338 he won back the strongholds. Soon after Balliol

left the kingdom, and in 1341 David and his queen Joan of England came home from France, where he had been sent to be out of the way of the troubles. Five years of comparative peace followed. A succession of truces were made with England, but they were not strictly kept on the border.

While Edward was busy with the siege of Calais, David, to keep up the spirit of the alliance with France, broke the truce between England and Scotland by invading England. He was defeated and captured by the Archbishop of York at the head of the force of the northern counties in 1346. For eleven years David remained a captive, and Scotland was governed by the former regent, the Steward. During that time Berwick was won and lost again. Edward, to whom Balliol had handed over his claim to the kingdom for a pension of two thousand pounds, brought an English army as far as the Forth. As they could neither find provisions to sustain them nor an enemy to fight with, they were forced to return, but they had left such traces of their progress on churches and dwelling-houses that their inroad was remembered as the "burnt Candlemas." In 1347 David was released, the ransom being fixed at 100,000 marks. He made many after-visits to England, and proposed to the Estates that Lionel, the second son of Edward, should succeed him, but to this they would not agree. He died in 1370, and left no children.

David was succeeded by his sister's son, Robert, the Steward of the kingdom. The office was hereditary, and the title gradually passed into the surname of the family who held it and became common to the different branches. Robert was allowed to mount the throne unopposed. It had been feared that William, Lord Douglas would have disputed his right to the throne, but he did not. Robert was twice married, but the first marriage was disputed, although dispensations for each have since been discovered, which decide the right of Robert's first family.

At the end of the truce with England, in 1385, war broke out again. The French sent a body of 2000 men, 1000 stands of armor, and 50,000 gold pieces to the aid of their allies the Scots. Richard II. of England, with an army of 70,000 men, invaded Scotland, and marched as far north as the Forth. There was more harrying and burning, and but little real fighting. But the Frenchmen despised the poverty of the Scots, and were disgusted with their way of fighting; and as the Scots in return were uncivil and in-

hospitable to them, they went away before long, and were as glad to get back to their own land as the Scots were to get rid of them.

A few years later the Scottish barons made another raid on the north of England. An army 5000 strong mustered at Jedburgh. The Scots made the raid and on the way back were met by the Percies. They won the day, but the victory was dearly bought, for Douglas was slain in the fight. This battle, in which many lives were lost without any real cause, and without doing any good whatever, was reckoned one of the best fought battles of that warlike time. It was all hand-to-hand fighting, and all the knights engaged in it on both sides showed great valor. Their feats of arms have been commemorated in the spirit-stirring ballad of Chevy Chase. The Scots came back to their own land, bringing with them Sir Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, and more than forty English knights whom they had taken prisoners. This fight, which was called the Raid of Otterburn, took place in August, 1388.

Robert died in 1390. He left the country at peace; for a truce between England and France, taking in Scotland as an ally of the latter, had been made the year before.

The eldest son of the late king was John, but as Balliol had made this name odious to the people, he changed it at his coronation to Robert. The country was in a miserable state. The nobles had been so long used to war with England that they could not bear to be at peace. They fought with one another, and preyed on the peasants and burghers. As the king was too weak both in mind and body to restrain them, the Estates placed the sovereign power in the hands of his son David, who was created Duke of Rothesay. This is the first time the title of duke appears in Scottish history. Rothesay was to act as the king's lieutenant for three years, with the advice of a council chosen by the Estates. Meanwhile the real rulers were the king's two brothers, Robert, Duke of Albany, and Alexander, Earl of Buchan. Albany, anxious, as he gave out, to restrain the wild follies of his nephew Rothesay, seized him and confined him in Falkland Castle. There he died, and his uncle was accused by the people of starving him to death. Of this charge Albany was afterward acquitted by act of the Estates.

During this reign there was a deadly combat between two bands of Highlanders on a meadow by the Tay, called the North Inch of Perth. The king and his nobles and a vast crowd of persons of all ranks gathered to see them fight. This was a famous con-

test, but, like Otterburn, this slaughter simply showed the skill of the combatants in killing one another. The name of the clans engaged, and their cause of quarrel, if they had any, have been alike forgotten.

In 1400, soon after the end of the truce, Henry IV., who by a revolution had been placed on his cousin Richard's throne, revived the old claim over Scotland in order to make himself popular with the English. He announced his intention of coming to Edinburgh to receive the homage of the king and of the nobles, and to enforce his demand he marched as far as Leith at the head of an army. This was the most harmless invasion on record, for, as usual, the Scots had got out of the way, and the English had to retreat without finding an enemy to fight with. The Earl of March for a while joined the English against the Scots. He afterward joined the Percies in their rebellion against Henry and fought with them at Shrewsbury. The regent Albany had an army on the border ready to help the rebels, but their defeat and dispersion brought his plan to nothing. But Albany hit on another way of threatening Henry. He entertained at the Scottish court a supposititious Richard. But about the same time Henry captured James, Earl of Carrick, second son of the king and heir to the throne. Thus, as the head of each government had a hostage for the good behavior of the other, there was no open war between the two nations. In 1406 Robert died.

The death of Robert made no change in the government, though the young king was acknowledged as James I. There was nominal peace with England, but the work of winning back the border strongholds still went on. Jedburgh was retaken and destroyed, as the best means of securing it against foreign occupation in future.

The kingdom was now threatened on the other border, the northern march which parted the Saxons of the northeastern Lowlands from the Celtic clans of the mountains. The hatred between the hostile races had been growing more and more bitter, and was fostered by constant inroads on the one hand and cruel laws upon the other. The time seemed now to have come when there must be a trial of strength between them. The head of the Celts was Donald, Lord of the Isles, who now claimed sovereign power over all the clans of the West and acted as an independent monarch. He was indeed lord over half the kingdom, and he resolved to

invade the territory of the king. The district nearest him was at this time at once the richest part of the kingdom and the part least accustomed to self-defense. In the invasion of their territory they took up arms and found a leader of experience. This was Alexander Stewart, or Stuart, as it is generally spelled, Earl of Mar. He had won his reputation by valor in the French wars, and his earldom by carrying off and marrying an heiress. The rival races met at Harlaw, in Aberdeenshire, July 24, 1411. Here, as at Bannockburn, the determination and steadfastness of each man in the smaller force decided the fortune of the day. For, though the Highlanders, reckless of life, charged again and again, they made no impression on the small compact mass that kept the way against them, and they were at last forced to retreat. This battle was justly looked on as a great national deliverance, greater even than the victory at Bannockburn, and many privileges and immunities were granted to the heirs of those who had fallen.

During the regency the Scots did good service to their old allies of France, who were sorely pressed by the English. Henry V. of England had conquered nearly all France, and had been proclaimed heir of the French king. A company of 700 Scots went to the help of the French. They arrived safely in France, in spite of the careful watch upon the seas kept up by the English in order to prevent them. By their aid the French gained their first victory in this war. The help of Douglas was then sought by the King of France. An alliance was made between them in 1423, and Douglas came to France, where the rich Duchy of Touraine and many other lands were conferred upon him. But Douglas was slain not long after at the battle of Verneuil in 1424. Most of the Scots fell with him, for the English refused them quarter, considering all Scots bearing arms on the French side as traitors. The remnant were formed into a royal bodyguard, the beginning of the famous Scottish Guard of the French kings.

Albany died in 1419, and anarchy followed. Every man was his own master, and the land was filled with violence. The obvious remedy was to bring home the king, and Douglas and some of the other nobles treated with the English Government for his release.

Under the immediate successors of Robert I., Scotland nearly lost all the advantages which he had won for her. The country was torn by civil strife; the kings were weak and useless; the nobles

became so strong and overbearing that their power more than equaled that of the Crown, and they set at nought the king's authority. All social improvement was at a standstill. Still we find during this period the first stirrings of a desire for increase of knowledge and greater liberty of religious thought. Two events mark this: the burning of John Reseby, with his books, on a charge of heresy, at Perth in 1408, and the opening of the first university in Scotland, founded at St. Andrews by Henry Wardlaw, the bishop, in 1410. The history of Scotland was now first written by two natives of the country, John of Fordun, who wrote the "*Scotichronicon*," and Andrew Wyntoun, who wrote a metrical chronicle.

Chapter V

THE JAMESES. 1424-1557

IN 1424 James came home and brought with him his English wife, Joan, daughter of the Earl of Somerset. As he had been taken in time of peace, a ransom could not reasonably be demanded, but the Scots were required to pay forty thousand pounds to defray the expenses of his eighteen years' maintenance and education. The king, now at last restored to his kingdom, let eight months pass quietly before taking vengeance on those who had so long kept him out of it. He spent this time in winning the confidence of the people and of the lesser barons. He then seized Albany, his two sons, and twenty-six other nobles at Perth, whither they had come to attend the Parliament. Albany and his two sons were tried before a jury of twenty-one peers, many of whom sat only to secure their own safety. They were found guilty of treason and put to death at Stirling. James himself presided at the trial, thereby reviving the ancient practice of the king's personal administration of justice.

When James had thus got rid of his dangerous cousins he turned his attention to the Highlands and Western Isles, which presented a strange mixture of Celtic and of feudal manners. They were ruled partly by Norman barons and partly by native chiefs, and these barons or chiefs were both alike upheld by that personal devotion of their vassals which was the strong point of Celtic clanship. James summoned the chiefs to a parliament at Inverness in 1427. They obeyed the summons, and were at once seized and imprisoned. Three of them were hanged at that time. Several others shared the same fate at a later date. Others were imprisoned, and a small remnant only allowed to go away unhurt. Alexander, Lord of the Isles, was among these last, and the first use he made of his recovered liberty was to bring his islemen down on Inverness, which they destroyed. James hurried northward again and defeated him in Lochaber. Alexander gave himself up to the king's grace, and was confined in Tantallon Castle. But his

kinsman, Donald Balloch, set himself at the head of the clans and they defeated the royal army. James determined to crush the Celts once and forever. An additional tax was levied for the purpose, and James set out once more for the North; but the chiefs, who saw that the king was just then too strong for them, met him with proffers of homage and submission. Such submissions were, however, practically worthless. In the eyes of the Celts they were just as little binding as the parchment title-deeds by which the government sought to change their chiefs into feudal barons.

The policy of James was to reduce the power of the baronage, and to balance it by strengthening the clergy and encouraging the commons. He made strict search into the titles by which the several nobles held their lands, and more especially into the actual state of the estates which had been held by the Crown in the time of Robert I. He deprived the Earl of March of his earldom, on the ground that Albany, who had restored it to him, had not the power to confer upon him the estates which he had once forfeited by the transfer of his allegiance to England. James also took from Malise Grahame his earldom of Strathearn, which he had inherited through his mother, on the ground that it was a male fief. These measures roused the dislike and distrust of the class they were aimed at, and a conspiracy was formed against the king. At its head was Sir Robert Grahame, uncle of Malise, who had been banished for denouncing the king's doings in parliament, and James was treacherously murdered, 1436. James left one son and five daughters. Margaret, the eldest, was married to the Dauphin, afterward Louis XI., of France.

James held many parliaments, and pretty nearly all are noteworthy for passing wise measures for the common good. In his first parliament, the Committee of the Articles, which dated from the reign of David II., was acknowledged as an established part of the parliament. This committee was elected by the parliament at the beginning of its session, and nearly the whole power of the Estates was made over to the persons chosen to form it, who were called the Lords of the Articles. They consulted together and considered the Articles presented to them in parliament, which were then passed by the vote of the Estates and became law. This custom, by which the business of the whole parliament was left in the hands of a committee, was afterward found to be the weakest point of the legislature, and paved the way for a great deal of

bribery and corruption. Statute law in Scotland dates from this reign, as it was James who first caused a collection of statutes to be made, and separated those that were still in force from those that had fallen out of use. He also regulated weights and measures, and fixed a standard for the coinage, so that it should be of the same weight and fineness as the money in England. From his reign also dates the appointment of the office of Treasurer; the publication of the acts of parliament in the language spoken by the people; the first effort toward the representation of the lesser barons by commissaries; and an attempt to establish a supreme court of civil jurisdiction, which was to consist of the Chancellor and three other persons chosen by the Estates, and to sit three times a year. In order that the Scottish people might learn to compete with the English bowmen, James established schools in the different parishes for the practice of archery. In short, he strove in every way to make his people profit by what he had learned and observed during his long exile in England. He was a patron of learning, and was himself a scholar and one of the earliest and best English poets. The longest of his poems is called the "King's Quhair," or book. In it he sang his love for his fair English bride in strains that prove him to have been a true poet. It is written in stanzas of seven lines each, a very favorite measure in those days, which was afterward called the "roial rime" in memory of this poet-king.

The young king, James II., who was only six years old when his father was killed, was crowned at Holyrood, as Scone, the customary crowning-place, was too near the Highlands, where the conspirators had taken refuge, to be safe. He was then taken by his mother for greater security to Edinburgh Castle. The object of the murderers was to place on the throne the Earl of Athole. If this were their design, it was not seconded by the people, who were filled with sorrow and anger at the death of the king, who had made himself popular by all the good he had done for them. A hue-and-cry was raised after the murderers, who were taken and put to death with cruel tortures.

The first part of the reign was a struggle for the wardship of the king's person, which gave nearly royal power to whoever held it. The rivals for this honor were William Crichton, the Chancellor and governor of Edinburgh Castle; Alexander Livingstone, the governor of Stirling, the other great stronghold; and the queen-mother. The queen, who feared that Crichton would try to sep-

arate the young king from her if she stayed in Edinburgh, succeeded in getting herself and her child out of his hands by a stealthy flight to Stirling. But she soon found that they had only changed jailers, for Livingstone kept as strict a guard over the king as Crichton had done. A few years later she married Stuart, Lord of Lorn, after which she took no further part in public affairs. Her flight to Stirling gave Livingstone for a time the advantage in the possession of the king, till Crichton contrived to kidnap him back to Edinburgh. But as the rivals found that it would be more for the interest of each to act in concert with the other, they made an agreement by which James was sent back to the custody of Livingstone.

Archibald, Earl of Douglas, was at this time the most powerful baron in Scotland. Besides holding Galloway, Annandale, and other great estates in Scotland, he had inherited the Duchy of Touraine, which had been conferred on his father by the King of France for good service done against the English, and in his foreign duchy he possessed wealth and splendor beyond anything that the Scottish king could boast. The family still had a hold on the popular favor won for them by the Good Lord James. They had also some pretensions to the Crown of Scotland, for they represented the claim of the Comyns, and were also descendants of Robert II. Douglas had been chosen lieutenant-governor of the kingdom, and had ample power to quiet the rival parties had he chosen to exercise it. But he did not, and his nominal government was ended by his death in 1439. William, his son, who at seventeen succeeded to all this pride and power, kept up a state and retinue almost royal, and much violence and oppression were laid to his charge. Crichton and Livingstone agreed to compass his downfall, and for this end they invited him and his brother David to visit the king at Edinburgh. They came, were seized, and, after the form of a trial, were beheaded in the castle-yard. The power of their house was thus broken for a time. The estates were divided; part went with the title to their granduncle James, the male heir, while Galloway went to their sister Margaret. But on the death of James they were reunited, for his son William married Margaret of Galloway, his cousin. He then went to court, to do his duty, as he said, to his sovereign, pretended that the king had chosen him lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and got most of the power into his own hands. He and Livingstone joined, and tried

to make Crichton give up the seals by besieging him in Edinburgh Castle; but he held out so well that they were forced to make terms with him. Douglas grew more proud and powerful every year. He was already lord of nearly all the southern country, and he joined in a bond with the great chiefs of the North,—the Lord of the Isles, who was now Earl of Ross, and Alexander, Earl of Crawford, the head of the house of Lindsay and representative of the fallen Earls of March. He held meetings of his vassals, to which he summoned all those who either were or, as he thought, ought to be his dependants. Nor did he scruple to put to death any who opposed him, in direct defiance of the king's commands. But as the earl's retainers numbered 5000, while the king had not so much as a bodyguard, his commands were not easily enforced.

The king's majority was soon followed by the ruin of Livingstone. Douglas was too strong to be openly attacked. He was invited to Stirling and received in a friendly way. James remonstrated with him about the bonds, and urged him to break them off. Douglas refused, whereupon he was stabbed by James and killed by a follower. Civil war succeeded, and James Douglas openly defied the king as a traitor and a perjured man. His cause was taken up by the parties to the bond, the Earls of Ross and Crawford. The king, who felt himself too weak to break the confederacy, was forced to turn to his own advantage the enmity among his nobles, and to pull down one house by building up another. This policy only changed the name of the rivals of the Crown, without getting rid of them, and it laid the foundation of the like troubles in future reigns. In the North James intrusted the conduct of the war to the head of the house of Gordon, whom he created Earl of Huntly, and whose lands lay between those of the banded earls. In the South the Earl of Angus, the head of the Red Douglases as they were called, was made use of to overthrow the Black Douglases, the elder branch of the family. The question whether James Stuart or James Douglas should wear the crown was settled by a battle at Arkinholm, in Eskdale, in 1454. Douglas was forsaken by many of his followers, and was defeated and fled to England. An act of forfeiture was passed against him and all his house, and, to prevent any one family again becoming so formidable, another act was passed, which made Galloway and certain other lordships and castles inalienable from the Crown. But in spite of this the greater part of

the lands of the fallen Douglas went to his kinsman Angus. Many other families also, among them the Hamiltons, rose from the ruins of the Black Douglases. Sir James Hamilton, the head of the house, had been one of the adherents of the earl, but he deserted to the royal side on the eve of the battle of Arkinholm.

As the strife which was at this time going on between the Yorkists and Lancastrians kept the English busy at home, there was comparative peace on the border, broken only by an inroad from Percy and the banished Douglas. James took the part of Henry VI., and raised a large army with the intention of invading England in his favor. But there was no serious war, and James saw that there was now a good chance of winning back the towns which the English still held in Scotland. He therefore laid siege to Roxburgh, and was killed there by the bursting of a large cannon which he was watching with great interest. After his death the queen urged on the siege, and Roxburgh was taken and destroyed. This siege is noteworthy as being among the first in which we hear of the use of artillery in Scotland. Another notable feature of it was the presence of the Lord of the Isles with an auxiliary force, for which service he was made one of the wardens of the border. The second university in Scotland was founded in this reign at Glasgow by Bishop Turnbull.

During the first part of the reign of James III., 1460-1488, there was a struggle over the guardianship of the king, which finally came into the hands of the Boyds, the son of his guardian being created Earl of Arran, and with the earldom the king's sister was given him in marriage.

For many years the rent of the Western Isles had not been paid to the King of Norway. There were heavy arrears due to him which had been demanded in the last reign. It was now agreed to settle the matter peaceably by the marriage of James with Margaret, daughter of Christian of Norway, in 1469. Her dowry was the claim for the arrears and 60,000 florins, in security for which the Orkney and Shetland Isles were placed as pledges in the hands of the King of Scotland. These islands have never been redeemed by payment of the sum agreed on. Arran had been chiefly concerned in bringing about this marriage, but during his absence at the court of Christian his enemies were busy in compassing his fall, and the result was the confiscation of his estates to the Crown.

In the beginning of the reign Edward IV. kept up a seeming

show of friendliness, but he was secretly treating with Douglas and the Lord of the Isles to the effect that they should hold the two parts of Scotland as principalities dependent on England. The consequent raids of John caused him to be called to account, and he had to give up much of his domain. In exchange for his proud but doubtful title of Lord of the Isles he was made a peer of parliament. In 1474 a marriage was arranged between Edward's daughter Cecily and James the Prince of Scotland. It was broken off owing to a quarrel between the king and his brothers. One was found dead under suspicion of poison, and the other, Albany, escaped from Scotland. He made an agreement with Edward, who was to place him on the throne of Scotland, and to give him the Lady Cecily in marriage. After divers threatening messages had been exchanged between the two governments, and many threatenings of attack had been made, a great Scottish army was mustered to invade England in good earnest.

The king had always been unpopular with his nobles. His love of money and of peaceable pursuits found little sympathy with them, and they could neither understand nor tolerate his fancy for making favorites of men whom they despised. The time had now come when they could take the law into their own hands. The army raised for the invasion of England was led by the king in person, and advanced as far as Lauder in Berwickshire. There the nobles met together, with old Angus at their head, to devise some way of getting rid of the most hated of these favorites, Robert Cochrane, a mason or architect, to whom the king had given the control of the artillery in this expedition. He had also conferred on him the revenues of the earldom of Mar, and Cochrane, going a step further, had assumed the title. While they were deliberating, the Lord Gray, so the story goes, quoted the old fable of the mice and the cat, meaning thereby that all their talk would come to nothing unless one of their number was bold enough to attack their enemy. On this Archibald, Earl of Angus, cried out, "Heed not, I'll bell the cat." This saying won him the nickname of "Bell the Cat." While they thus sat in council in the church, Cochrane himself knocked at the door and demanded admittance in the name of the king. The finery which he wore still further heated the wrath of the lords. They seized him and with many insults accused him of misguiding the king and the government. Meanwhile they had sent a band of armed men to the king's tent to secure

the other favorites. They then hanged them all over Lauder Bridge. Only one of the favorites was spared to the entreaties of the king. The triumphant barons then brought the king back to Edinburgh, 1482. Soon after this Albany came back, and for a short time they lived together seemingly on good terms, while Albany really ruled. But before long he found it most prudent to return to England, and he showed his real designs by putting Dunbar Castle into the hands of the English.

The king, who had not learned wisdom by the lesson of Lauder Bridge, grew more and more unpopular. A confederacy was formed and a large army was raised by the lords south of the Forth. To give a show of justice to their doings, they placed James the Prince of Scotland at their head, professing to have deposed his father and to have accepted him as their lawful king. North of the Scots Water the country was true to James, and there he collected a considerable force. The two armies met at Sauchieburn. The king, who was not brave, turned and fled at the first sign that the day was going against him. In his flight he was thrown from his horse and carried to a mill built on the Bannockburn, where he was murdered by an unknown hand, 1488.

The first thing to be done after the affair of Sauchieburn was to find out what had become of the king, and, when his death was made sure of, an inquiry was set on foot as to the cause of it. James IV. was crowned and the offices of state were transferred to the party in power, and an act of amnesty was passed, to take in all persons who had taken part with the late king in the struggle which the nobles pleased to call the late rebellion. Two ineffectual risings to avenge the murder of the king were made by the Lords Lennox and Forbes, and three years later, to pacify the clamors of the people, a reward of one hundred marks was offered for the discovery of the actual murderers.

Just at this time Henry VII. of England had his hands too busy at home to allow of his making open war upon Scotland, but he carried on secret schemes with Angus, Ramsay, and others for the capture of the king. James, on the other hand, upheld that Perkin Warbeck was really Richard, Duke of York, received him at his court as the son of King Edward, and gave him in marriage his kinswoman Lady Katharine Gordon. A force of French and Burgundians came to aid him, and an army crossed the border, but it did nothing, as the rising which had been planned, and was to

have been made at the same time in the North of England, did not take place. At last James got tired of Perkin, sent him off to Ireland, though with a princely escort, and renewed a truce with Henry in 1497. The two kings were drawn still closer by the marriage of James with Margaret Tudor, eldest daughter of Henry, in 1502.

James paid frequent visits to Kintyre, the Isles, and Inverness, and took measures for the building of more castles and the maintenance of garrisons in those already built. This plan might have been successful in keeping the country quiet if the Crown had been strong enough to carry it out. As it was not, James was forced to fall back on the old policy of turning the feuds of the chiefs to their own destruction by empowering one to act against another. Again the Gordons got a great increase of power, for their head, the Earl of Huntly, was appointed sheriff of Inverness, Ross, and Caithness, with the condition that he should finish and maintain a fortress at Inverness. In the West the charge of keeping order was put into the hands of the Earl of Argyle, the chief of the Campbells. An attempt was also made to break up the Isles into sheriffdoms, and to impose upon the Highlanders the laws of the Lowlands. A commission was issued for the banishment of broken men, as those clansmen were called who had no representative chiefs, and an act was passed which made the chiefs responsible for the execution of legal writs upon their clansmen. But the disaffected chiefs rallied round Donald Dhu, an illegitimate descendant of the last Lord of the Isles, and it took three years' fighting on the part of the king and of Huntly to reduce them. Donald was at last brought captive to Edinburgh, and the lordship of the Isles was finally broken up in 1504.

In this reign Scotland first appears as a naval power, and this proved a new source of strife with England. A captain, Andrew Barton, bore letters of marque against the Portuguese, but the English accused him of taking English vessels also. He was attacked in time of truce by the Howards. He himself was killed and his ship, the *Lion,* was taken, and became the second ship in the English navy. James had also another cause of complaint against Henry VIII., for Henry refused to give up to his sister Margaret a legacy of jewels left to her by her father. When therefore England and France declared war, Scotland stood by her old ally, the bond between them was drawn closer, the right of citi-

zenship in France was extended to the Scots, and Queen Anne of France made an appeal to the chivalrous feeling of James by choosing him as her knight, and calling on him for assistance. James therefore fitted out a fleet of twenty-three vessels. Among them was a very large ship called the *Great Michael,* which was looked on as a masterpiece of shipbuilding. This fleet was put under the command of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, with orders to sail for France. Instead of doing this, he stormed Carrickfergus, and what became of the ships was never clearly made out.

James also determined to invade England. Though the cause was not popular, the king was, and a large army soon mustered. The king himself led the host across the border and encamped on the Till, but, as he would not take the advice of Angus and others who knew more of border fighting than he did, he mismanaged the whole affair. He idled away the time till his own army began to disperse and the English had time to gather; then he let them cross the river unopposed, and finally left his strong position on the hill to meet them hand to hand in the plain. The result was an utter defeat, and the king, who was more eager to display his own valor than to act the part of the general in command, was slain in the thickest of the fight. Twelve earls and thirteen barons fell round him, and every noble house in Scotland left some of its name on the fatal field of Flodden, September 9, 1513. The death of James IV. was deeply mourned, for his reign had been peaceful and prosperous. He was popular with the nobles, because he kept them round him, and freely spent his father's savings; and with the commons, because of his rigorous maintenance of justice, his encouragement of commerce and agriculture, and his easy, kindly manners. James is described as middle-sized, handsome, and well-made. Besides Latin and several other foreign languages, he could speak the Irish or Gaelic, which was the native tongue of his Western subjects. During his reign Scotland was more prosperous than it had been since the days of the last Alexander. Trade was flourishing and on the increase, and large quantities of wool, hides, and fish were exported to other countries.

St. Andrews had been raised to an archbishopric in 1471. In 1492, at the petition of the Estates, the pallium was sent from Rome to Robert Blackadder, Bishop of Glasgow, with license to bear the cross and all other archiepiscopal insignia. This led to bitter strife between the two archbishops, who referred their dis-

putes to the Pope, to the great wrath of the Estates, who denounced and forbade all such appeals to Rome. The burning of Reseby had not put a stop to the spreading of Wycliffe's doctrines, for we find thirty persons accused of the Lollard heresy by Blackadder. Two great steps toward the advancement of learning were made in this reign: the one was the foundation of a third university at Aberdeen, on the model of the University of Paris, by Elphinstone, the good Bishop of Aberdeen; the other was the introduction of the art of printing, by means of which knowledge could be extended to the people. The first press was set up by Walter Chapman, under the patronage of the king.

The news of the defeat at Flodden spread grief and terror through the country. The citizens of Edinburgh built a wall round their city, but its strength was not tried, for the English army dispersed instead of advancing. The Estates met at Perth, and the queen-mother was appointed regent, for the king, James V., was an infant only two years old. But within a year the queen married Archibald, Earl of Angus, and the Estates then transferred the regency to the Duke of Albany, High Admiral of France. Peace was made with England, Scotland being taken in as the ally of France in a treaty between that country and England.

Albany's government was at first very unpopular, for the national jealousy was roused by the number of his French followers. The queen at first refused to give up the king, but she was besieged in Stirling Castle and obliged to yield. The country was distracted by the brawls of the two great factions, the Hamiltons and the Douglases. The Earl of Arran was the head of the former, Angus of the latter. The governor put them down with the help of the French: Angus was seized and transported to France; his wife fled to England, where he contrived to join her before long. But Albany went back to France after he had been about a year in Scotland; and as he left a Frenchman, Anthony de la Bastie, Warden of the Border, and placed the strongholds in the hands of the French also, the Scots grew more jealous and turbulent than before. De la Bastie fell a victim to the national hatred of foreigners, being killed in a border raid. The Celts in the West reasserted their independence, and the feud between the Hamiltons and the Douglases broke out worse than ever. They brought their brawls into the very streets of the capital. The Hamiltons laid a plan for attacking the Douglases, and taking

Angus prisoner. In the fight Angus so thoroughly routed his foes that the fray was called "Clear the Causeway," and after it he held the city with an armed force. Thus five years passed, and the regent, who had nominally gone back to France for a few months only, was still absent, and it took a great deal of urging and threatening from the Estates to bring him back to his trust.

It was now nine years since Flodden, and, as there had been peace with England during that time, the country had somewhat recovered her strength. When therefore Henry began to meddle in the affairs of Scotland, to require that Albany should be dismissed, and that the French connection should be broken off, the Estates refused and prepared for war. As the greater part of the English force was in France, the northern counties of England were comparatively unprotected, and it was just the time for striking an effective blow there. Instead of doing this, Albany came to terms with Lord Dacre, the English warden, and the large army that had gathered round him melted away without doing anything. But the truce was not renewed. Dacre stormed Jedburgh, and the Scots mustered again. This time their numbers were increased by the presence of some French auxiliaries whom Albany had brought back from France, to which he had paid a second visit. Again the army was brought to the border without being led any further. By this time the Scots were thoroughly disgusted with Albany and he with them, and shortly after this second fruitless expedition he sailed for France and took the Frenchmen with him, 1524.

No sooner was Albany gone than Henry, through his subtle chancellor Wolsey, tried to make the Scots break with France. Margaret, the queen-mother, was the great upholder of the English interest; James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews and Chancellor, was the leader of the French party. Wolsey tried hard to get hold of Beaton on various pretexts, but Beaton was too cunning for him, and held himself apart in his own strong castle of St. Andrews, where he kept up dealings with France. But the English party were for a time the stronger, and by the advice of Henry, James, who was now twelve years old, was set up to rule in his own name, and took his place at the head of the parliament, August, 1524. The only change made by this step, called the erection, was that Albany's nominal government was done away with, and the French influence much weakened. Still Henry's

interference was not liked, and the capture of Frances I. at Pavia turned the tide of popular feeling back to the old allies of France. Since the erection Arran had been the nominal head of the government, but in 1526 the king, who was now fourteen, was considered old enough to choose his own guardians. He chose the Earls of Errol, Argyle, and Angus, and an agreement was made that each in sucession was to have the care of the king for three months. Angus's turn came first, but at the end of it he refused to give up his charge, and for two years he tyrannized over both the king and his subjects, and successfully resisted all attempts at a rescue.

James at last contrived to make his escape by riding in the night, disguised as a groom, from Falkland to Stirling Castle, 1528. Now that he was at last safely out of the hands of the Douglases, he set to work to crush them utterly. It was made treason for any who bore that name to come within six miles of the king, and an act of forfeiture was passed against them. Angus had many adherents; but as all those nobles who hoped for a share of his lands took part with the king, they proved too strong for him, and he was at last obliged to give in and to flee for refuge to England. Thus the overthrow of the Red Douglases was as thorough as had been that of the elder branch, on whose ruin they had risen.

James began his reign by executing summary justice on the lawless and turbulent part of his subjects. The Borderers were now nearly as troublesome as the Highlanders. They dwelt in the debatable ground between England and Scotland, and preyed on either country with the greatest impartiality. Certain families, as the Kerrs, Armstrongs, and Scotts, had a sort of monopoly of this wholesale thieving; and as they had taken to the clan system of the Celts, each robber chief in his peel tower could count, not only on the unquestioning service, but also on the personal devotion of every man in his following. John Armstrong had made himself famous among them by his daring deeds. For this renown James made him pay dear, for, judging that he, the most notorious offender, would make the most telling example of the force of justice, he had him seized and hanged like a common thief. New means were tried for quieting the disturbances in the Western Highlands and Isles. Argyle was deprived of his lieutenancy, and the government was in future to deal directly with the chiefs for the

collection of taxes and of the feudal dues. Several persons were put to death in this reign for conspiracy and treason, all of whom were more or less connected with the banished Angus.

Though the need of a reform in the church was felt and openly discussed in parliament, and the shortcomings of the clergy were unsparingly ridiculed by the popular poets, still neither the king nor the people were inclined to break off from Rome, as Henry VIII. had done. But Henry was most anxious that his nephew should follow his example, and a meeting between them at York was agreed on. But James, doubtful of Henry's good faith, did not keep tryst. Henry was furious; he brought up again the old claim of supremacy over Scotland, and to enforce the claim he sent an army to invade Scotland. James prepared to avenge this attack; but when his army got as far as the border the nobles refused to go further, and a body of ten thousand men who had passed the Esk were surprised and scattered by Dacre while they were contending about the chief command.

The king meanwhile was waiting in Caerlaverock Castle. At the same time that he heard of the shameful defeat of his army at Solway Moss the news was brought that a daughter was born to him. This child was heir to the throne, for his two sons had died in infancy. James thought that the birth of a girl at this time was an ill omen for Scotland. Eight days later he died of grief and disappointment, December 14, 1542. James is the first King of Scotland of whom we have a portrait. He was handsome, but had red hair, which won him the nickname of the "Red Tod," or red fox. He was not liked by the nobles, but the commons loved him well. His habit of going about in disguise familiarly among the people endeared him to them, and led him into many amusing adventures. In character and policy James was something like James I. Like him, he strove to curb the power of the nobles, and to win for the Crown something more than mere nominal power, by making reforms which were much needed in the administration of justice. He worked out his ancestor's idea of a supreme court of justice by founding the Court of Session, or College of Justice. This court consisted first of thirteen, afterward of fifteen, members, half of whom were clerks, and who acted both as judge and jury. As the members of this court were chosen from the parliament, it had the power of parliament, and was supreme in all civil cases, there being no appeal beyond it. James was not only a patron of

letters, but himself a poet, one of the few royal poets whose writings will bear comparison with those of meaner birth. Two poems that are ascribed to him are descriptions of scenes from peasant life. If indeed they were written by him, the choice of the subjects and the way in which they are treated show how well he knew the condition of his people. They, in loving remembrance of the favor he had always shown them, gave him the title of "King of the Commons, and the People's Poet."

James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, next heir to the throne by his descent from James II., was chosen regent, but as it was the Scottish custom that the nearest of kin on the mother's side should have the care of the minor, the infant queen was left in charge of her mother, Mary of Lorraine. The defeat at Solway Moss and the death of the king had left the people nearly as dispirited and defenseless as they had been after Flodden, and Henry VIII. determined to get the kingom into his power by marrying Mary to his son Edward, Prince of Wales, afterward Edward VI.

To carry out his plans the better he sent Angus back to Scotland, and with him several other nobles, all pledged to do their best to place the queen and the strongholds in the hands of Henry. These nobles were called by the English the Assured Scots, because Henry thought he could be sure of their help, but they were either unable or unwilling to give him the aid for which he had hoped. It was not till July in the next year that two treaties were drawn up at London, the one for the English alliance, the other agreeing to the English marriage of the queen. But there was a strong national party much set against any dealings with England, and though the treaties were approved at one meeting of the Estates, it was plain that they would be thrown out at the next. The regent tried to break them off, and Henry, greatly enraged, made ready for war, and seized some Scottish ships which had been driven by stress of weather into English ports. This was reason enough for the rejection of the treaties by the Estates. Shortly after the "Assured Scots" changed sides and made a bond with the regent; but Henry found a new supporter in Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, who, as he wished to marry Margaret Douglas, daughter of Angus, Henry's niece and ward, was eager to do anything to win Henry's favor.

War was declared at Edinburgh by an English herald May 1, 1544, and an English army under the Earl of Hertford was sent by sea and landed at Granton. He was bidden to destroy Edinburgh

and as many other towns and villages as he conveniently could, and he carried out his orders to the letter. He sacked and burned Leith, a wealthy trading town, set fire to Edinburgh, though no resistance had been made to him there, robbed the burghs on the coast of Fife, and then marched south to the border, burning, slaying, spoiling, and leaving a wasted land behind him. The only resistance he met with was near the border. At the news of this success six hundred borderers from the Scottish side, who had been fighting in the service of the English wardens, changed sides and attacked their former brothers in arms. The rest of the nation then took heart, and a large force was mustered and brought to the border, but did nothing.

Before the traces of his former ravages had disappeared, just when the next harvest was ready for the sickle, Hertford appeared again at the head of a motley host, swelled by half-savage Irish and by foreign hirelings, and repeated the wild work of the year before. The invaders attacked and plundered the religious houses. The ruins of Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh, Roxburgh, and Coldingham still bear witness to their zeal in carrying out the orders of their master. Towns, manors, churches, and between two and three hundred villages were left in ashes behind them. All this misery was wantonly inflicted without winning for Henry a foot of ground or a single new subject.

Two years passed, and again the sorely scourged country was visited by its old enemy. Hertford, now Duke of Somerset and Protector of England during the minority of Edward VI., thought by one well-aimed blow to wrest from the people their proud boast, the national independence. Two armies, the one led by himself and the other sent by sea, met at Musselburgh and threatened the capital. The regent had mustered a large force to resist them, and the two hosts faced each other on opposite banks of the Esk. But the Scots very foolishly left their strong position and forced the English to a battle, in which they were again defeated with great slaughter, at Pinkie, September 10, 1547. After the battle Somerset went back to England, and took the greater part of his army with him. As most of the strongholds were now in the hands of the English, it was thought best to send the queen to France that she might be out of harm's way. The French sent six thousand men to help in driving out the English, a work that was not ended till 1550, when a short peace followed the nine years of cruel war.

If we consider the difference of the times and the advance of civilization, the fiercest raids of Malcolm and of Wallace may be favorably compared with the misery wrought by Hertford in these three savage and unprovoked attacks.

The overthrow of the monasteries, the seizure of their revenues, and the other changes in religious matters carried out by Henry VIII. in England had been approved by a large party in Scotland. They were eager to begin the same work there, for the church, by her abuse of power and by her persecution of all who differed from her, was fast losing her hold upon the people. The first outbreak of the popular feeling was the murder of Cardinal David Beaton, the Primate, the leader of the French party in the state and the chief mover of religious persecution. In revenge for the burning of George Wishart in 1545, for preaching what was called heresy, sixteen of Wishart's followers murdered Beaton in his own Castle of St. Andrews, which they had entered by a stratagem, and which they held for fourteen months, setting at defiance all the regent's efforts to retake it. It was only with the help of the French that they were at last obliged to give in, and were sent to the French galleys. Among them was John Knox, who twelve years later became famous as the apostle of the Reformation among his countrymen. The castle was destroyed.

In 1554, Arran, who had been created Duke of Chatelherault by the French king, went back to France and Mary of Lorraine became regent. The league with France was drawn still closer by the marriage of the queen with Francis the Dauphin. Francis became King of France in 1559. The crown-matrimonial of Scotland was then granted to him, so that the two countries were for a short time united under one Crown. On the strength of this the French began to give themselves airs of superiority which the Scots could ill bear from strangers, and before long they became well-nigh as unpopular as the English had been. The regent was unconsciously doing her best to foster this feeling of dislike by placing foreigners in offices of trust, above all by making Frenchmen keepers of the strongholds. But there was another influence now at work, the desire for religious reform, which wrought a change in the national life greater than any that had been felt since the time of the first Robert.

The intercourse with the French which arose from the close alliance of Scotland with France influenced the social development

of the nation throughout this period more strongly than during any other time either before or after it. The members of the National Council when they met in parliament were not, as in England, divided into lords and commons; the representatives of the three Estates, the Barons, the Clergy, and the Commons, assembled in one chamber, as was the French custom. All the tenants holding direct from the Crown were required to present themselves at these assemblies; but James I. released the lesser barons from this attendance, which they felt to be rather an irksome duty than a privilege, by allowing them to send commissaries in their stead. These commissaries, with the deputies from the cities and burghs, formed the Third Estate. The supreme court of justice, the Court of Session, established by James V., was formed on the model of the Parliament of Paris. The universities were founded in the fifteenth century, at St. Andrews, at Glasgow, and at Aberdeen. Of these, Aberdeen was an exact imitation of the University of Paris. The architecture of this period, both domestic and ecclesiastical, is in many respects like the French. Melrose Abbey and the palaces of Falkland and of Stirling, which were very richly ornamented, were built in the time of the Jameses. The houses of the nobles were also built in imitation of the French style. There are no remains of burgh domestic architecture older than the sixteenth century. Many French words also found their way into the Lowland Scotch, as the language of the Lothians came to be called. By this time there was so much difference between this dialect and that spoken at the English court that the people who spoke the one could scarcely understand the other. The foreign trade of Scotland was most prosperous during the reign of James IV. Fish, wools, and hides were the principal exports. By this time coal, which is first mentioned toward the end of the thirteenth century, was in general use. There were also lead and iron mines; and gold was found, though not in any large quantities. From this native gold James IV. struck some beautiful coins, which were called bonnet pieces, because they bore the image of the king wearing a bonnet. The state of the people at this time was one of almost serf-like dependence on their lords. But great as the power of the nobles was, there were no forest or game laws in Scotland, nor did they enjoy any privilege of peerage. An offender against the law, if he could be brought to justice, had to "thole an assize," like any peasant, however high his rank might be.

In early times all the education that was within the reach of the people had been offered to them by the church. Schools were founded and maintained in several towns by the great monasteries, and there was provision made for the education of the choristers attached to the several cathedral churches. In later times there were grammar schools founded by the burgh corporations. In 1496 an act was passed requiring all "barons and freeholders" to keep their sons at these schools until they should be "competently founded," and have "perfect Latin," under pain of a fine of twenty pounds. A book, purporting to be the "History of Scotland," was written in Latin by Hector Boece, the first Principal of the University of Aberdeen. The greater part of this book is purely imaginary. The Latin "*Scotichronicon*," of Fordun, was continued by Walter Bower, Abbot of Inchcolm, down to the middle of the fifteenth century. Besides the two kings James I. and V. there were other notable poets in Scotland in the middle of the fifteenth century. Blind Harry the Minstrel then did for Wallace what about a century before Barbour had done for Bruce, by putting together all the popular stories of his deeds in a spirit-stirring poem that bears his hero's name. William Dunbar, a friar of the order of St. Francis, wrote a poem called "The Thistle and the Rose," to celebrate the marriage of James IV. with Margaret Tudor. This and the "Golden Terge" and the "Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins" are the best among his writings. Gawin Douglas also wrote several poems in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Those best known are "King Hart," the "Palace of Honor," and a translation of Virgil's "Æneid." Some years after Douglas wrote, Sir David Lyndesay, the companion of James V.'s childhood, and the mourner of his untimely death, directed many clever satires against the abuses in the church, the vices of the clergy, and the follies of the court. The "Dreme," the "Satire of the Three Estates," and the "Monarchy," are his best poems.

During this period, which extends over more than a century, the country made little progress either socially or politically. Of the five kings, all bearing the same name, who in turn wore the crown, four died violent deaths, and of these four two were treacherously murdered by their own subjects. Most of them came to the throne in childhood; not one attained old age. Their reigns were chiefly passed in struggles to put down their lawless and

turbulent nobles, who in each succeeding minority waxed more powerful and more independent. In the reigns of James II. and of James V. this contest between the Crown and the Baronage took the form of a struggle between the House of Stuart and the House of Douglas. In both cases the king compassed the fall of his rival only by placing a dangerous amount of power in the hands of the other nobles. The foreign policy of Scotland under the Jameses was very simple. It consisted in maintaining a close alliance with France and a constant quarrel with England. But the French never gave the Scots any real help, and the English were so much taken up at home with the civil Wars of the Roses that they made no serious attacks on the independence of Scotland. Though during this period there were four long minorities, there was no attempt made to break the regular line of succession. This was due partly to the attachment of the people to the royal line, and partly to the weakness of the royal authority, for the king had so little real power that the great nobles did not think the Crown worth taking. The reign of James IV. was the most peaceful and prosperous, but James I. did the most for the welfare of the people.

Chapter VI

THE REFORMATION. 1557-1603

FIVE hundred years had gone by since the English, who fled from the Norman Conqueror, had brought about a great social revolution in the Celtic kingdom, where they found a refuge. We now find another revolution arising from a very similar cause. But there was a difference in the way in which these great changes were wrought out characteristic of the two centuries in which they took place. In the eleventh century it was the influence of the Court which little by little changed the people; in the sixteenth century the people struggled against, and in the end overcame, the opposition of the Court. When Mary Tudor became Queen of England she wished to place the English Church under the authority of the Pope, even more than it had been before the changes of her father Henry. All who held the Reformed doctrines were persecuted as heretics. Many of these so-called heretics sought safety across the border in Scotland, and were welcomed there with a kindness that would have seemed impossible but a few years before, when the deadly war was waging. But religious sympathy got the better of national hate. Still the traditional bent of the national feeling influenced the character of the new movement, and led the Scottish reformers to mold anew the polity and form of worship of their church after the model of the French Calvinists, rather than to follow the example of the Church of England in her merely doctrinal reform.

In Scotland, as in the other lands of western Christendom, the clergy had lost their hold on the commons by their immorality and irreligion, their greed of money, and their abuse of their spiritual powers; while they had roused the jealousy of the nobles by their wealth, and by the influence won by their learning, which, though it was often but little, secured to them the offices of state. The hope of getting hold of some of the well-cultivated church lands led many lairds, as landholders are called in Scotland, to join the popular movement of reform.

The friends of reform were thus silently becoming a power in the state, and as had been the Scottish custom for centuries, they joined themselves together by a bond, 1557. In this bond they pledged themselves to support one another, and to do their utmost for the spread of the new doctrines. This bond is called the First Covenant. By it the authority of the Pope was renounced, and the use of the English Bible and of the Prayer Book of Edward VI. was enjoined. Thenceforth the barons who had signed it called themselves the Lords of the Congregation. The burning of Walter Mill, an aged priest of blameless life, who suffered for heresy at St. Andrews in 1558, roused them to action. They demanded of the regent a reformation of religion after the principles of their bond. Though at first she seemed inclined to grant what they asked, she afterward set her face against them, and cited some of the preachers of the new doctrines before the Privy Council. A great body of their followers gathered at Perth to come with them; the regent, in alarm, begged them to disperse and promised to withdraw the citation. Instead of doing this, she outlawed the preachers for not coming.

This breach of promise on the regent's part provoked their followers to a breach of the peace. The mob attacked and tried to pull down the churches and the religious houses at Perth, May 11, 1559, and this tumult was followed by riots of the same kind in other towns. John Knox was the spiritual leader of the movement. But he wished to destroy only the images and ornaments in the churches, which he looked on as idolatrous, not the churches themselves. Nor is it to be laid on the charge of the reformers that there is but one cathedral church left entire in Scotland; the ruin of far the greater number of the churches and religious houses is due to the English invasions, or to the neglect of later times. After this outbreak the Congregation strengthened themselves in Perth, but many of the lords, among others the Lord James Stuart, illegitimate son of James V., joined the regent, and, had she been true to her promises, the strife which now broke out between the two parties might have been prevented. But she led a French force against the Congregation, who were now in open rebellion. An agreement was made that the questions at issue between them should be left to be settled by the Estates, while both armies laid down their arms and the French garrison was turned out of Perth. But the regent did not keep to the spirit of this

treaty, though she avoided breaking the letter of it by garrisoning Perth with native troops hired with French money. On this the Congregation flew to arms, seized St. Andrews, and occupied Edinburgh. There, in a meeting which they called a parliament, they deposed the regent, though they still professed loyalty to the king and queen. But they were too weak to hold the advantage they had won, and as Elizabeth had now succeeded Mary in England, they looked to her for support.

Elizabeth would not treat with subjects in open rebellion against their sovereign, though Mary had given her good reason for offense by quartering the arms of England on her shield, as though she were lawful queen and Elizabeth only a usurper. At last a treaty was arranged at Berwick in 1560 between Elizabeth and the rebels. Chatelherault, the next heir to the Scottish Crown, acted for the Congregation, and by this treaty Elizabeth promised to send troops to prevent the French conquering Scotland. The war that now followed presented the unwonted sight of the Scots on Scottish ground fighting side by side with the English against their old allies of France. But before the year was out the French were called away by troubles at home, and by the Treaty of Edinburgh it was agreed that no foreigners should in future be employed in the country without the consent of the Estates. The Estates promised in the name of the king and queen that they should acknowledge Elizabeth as lawful Queen of England, and thenceforth make no pretension to her kingdom.

Soon after the conclusion of this treaty the regent died. The Estates then approved the Geneva Confession of Faith, abjured the authority of the Pope, and forbade the saying of the mass, or even assisting at the mass, on pain of forfeiture for the first offense. banishment for the second, death for the third, August 25, 1560. Thus the old ecclesiastical system, with all its rites and ceremonies, was suddenly overthrown. But this was only in name; in reality it only died out bit by bit.

Just a year after this the queen came home, August, 1561. She was now a widow, so the Scots were freed from the fear they had felt of seeing their country sink into a province of France. The people, who had an almost superstitious reverence for kingship, which was very inconsistent with their contempt for kingly authority, welcomed her with open arms, and showed their good will by a greater display of discordant and grotesque rejoicing than the

austere teachers of the new doctrines could approve. As yet they only saw in her the representative of that long line of Celtic kings whom they chose to look on as their own. She was the "child" for whom they had struggled so long and had suffered so much from the English. They had yet to find out that she had come back to them French in all but birth, gifted with wit, intellect, and beauty, but subtle beyond their power of searching, and quite as zealous for the old form of religion as they were for the new one. The queen, too, who came thus as a stranger among her own people, had to deal with a state of things unknown in former reigns. Hitherto the church had taken the side of the Crown against the nobles; now both were united against the Crown, whose only hope lay in the quarrels between these ill-matched allies.

The chief cause of discord between them was the property of the church. The reform ministers fancied that they had succeeded, not only to the Pope's right of dictation in all matters, public and private, but to the lands of the church as well. To neither of these claims would the lords agree. They were as little inclined to submit to the tyranny of presbyters as to the tyranny of the Pope. They withstood the ministers who wished to forbid the queen and her attendants hearing mass in her private chapel, and they refused to accept as law the First Book of Discipline, a code of rules drawn up by the ministers for the guidance of the new church. As to the land, much of it had already passed into the hands of laymen, who, with the lands, generally bore the title of the church dignitary who had formerly held them. The Privy Council took one-third of what remained to pay the stipends of the ministers, while the rest was supposed to remain in the hands of the churchmen in possession, and as they died out it was to become Crown property.

Lord James Stuart, Prior of St. Andrews, whom the queen created Earl of Murray, was the hope of the Protestants, but in the North the Catholics were still numerous and strong. Their head was the Earl of Huntly, chief of the Gordons, who reigned supreme over most of the North, and whose word was law where decrees of parliament would have been set at naught. As his great power was looked on as dangerous to the state, his downfall was resolved on. Murray and the queen set out for the North to visit him, as was said, but with so large a force that he thought it expedient to keep out of their way. His Castle of Inverness was besieged and

taken and the governor hanged, and his followers were defeated and he himself slain in 1562. His body was brought to Edinburgh, as was the custom in cases of treason, that the sentence of forfeiture might be passed on it. His son was beheaded at Aberdeen; and thus the power of the Gordons was broken. Thus Mary during the first part of her reign showed no favor to the Catholics, but still she did not confirm the Reformation Statutes.

The most interesting question now for all parties was whom the queen would marry. Many foreign princes were talked of, and Elizabeth suggested her own favorite, the Earl of Leicester, but Mary settled the matter herself by falling in love with her own cousin, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. He was son of Lennox and Margaret Douglas, and was therefore the grandson of Margaret Tudor. Mary called a special council and announced to them her intended marriage. She then raised Darnley to the Earldom of Ross, and afterward created him Duke of Albany. They were married with the rites of the Catholic Church, July 29, 1565. Murray had refused his consent to the marriage. He and some others of the lay lords now took up arms. They got into the town of Edinburgh, but were fired at from the castle, and, as they were disappointed in their hopes of recruits, they retreated to Dumfries. There they issued a declaration that their religion was in danger, and that the queen had acted unconstitutionally in proclaiming Darnley King of Scotland without the consent of the Estates. The feudal force was summoned, and the king and queen led it against them. On this the lords retreated into England and disarmed their followers.

Mary soon began to tire of her worthless husband. She had all the weakness of her family for making favorites, and no wisdom in the choice of them. At this time she had taken a fancy to an Italian, David Rizzio, who acted as her secretary, and who had great skill in music to recommend him. The nobles grew jealous of this foreigner and determined to get rid of him; but, to save themselves from any ill-consequences of the murder which they had planned, they persuaded Darnley to sign a bond promising to stand by them in anything they might do. At the same time he signed another bond for the recall of Murray and the other banished lords. The queen summoned a parliament, which she expected would pronounce sentence of forfeiture on those banished lords. In order to secure compliance with her wishes, she interfered with the choosing

of the Lords of the Articles, into whose hands all the real business of the parliament was thrown. One evening, as she was sitting at supper in the palace at Holyrood, the conspirators, who had secured the gates, burst into the room, headed by the Lord Ruthven. They seized on Rizzio, who clutched at the queen for help; they dragged him into the outer room, killed him, and then threw the body downstairs, March 9, 1566. His fate was not made known to the queen till next day. James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, who already stood high in the queen's favor, and the Earl of Huntly, who had been restored to the titles and estates which his father had forfeited, were in the palace when it was thus taken possession of, but they contrived to escape.

The queen showed no signs of anger at first. She pretended to be reconciled to Darnley, and promised pardon to the banished lords. When they appeared before her the next day, she received Murray affectionately. But the confederates soon found that they had been mistaken in their hopes of Darnley, for in the night following he fled with the queen to Dunbar. Bothwell brought up a force for her protection, and before the end of the month she reentered Edinburgh. Rizzio's body was taken up and buried among the kings in the palace chapel, and James Douglas, Earl of Morton, Lord Ruthven, and others were cited to answer for the murder of Rizzio, and, as they did not appear, they were outlawed.

A new favorite soon took the place of Rizzio in the queen's regard. This was Bothwell, who had lately done such good service in coming to her aid at Dunbar. The abbey-lands of Melrose and Haddington were given to him. He was made Lord High Admiral and Warden of the Borders, and it was noticed that it was he and not Darnley who played the principal part at the baptism of her son, the Prince of Scotland. Darnley was hated by everyone, by his wife because he had connived at the murder of her favorite, and by his accomplices for his treachery in deserting them. Shortly after this he fell ill of small-pox, and was taken to Glasgow, to be tended by his father, Lennox. There, when he was getting better, the queen paid him a visit, and proposed that he should be taken to Craigmillar Castle, in order to hasten his recovery; but this plan was afterward changed, and he went instead to a house called the Kirk-o'-Field, close to Edinburgh. This house was blown up on the night of February 9, 1567, while the queen was present at a ball at Holyrood, and the bodies of Darnley

and of his page were found in a field hard by, as though they had been killed while trying to make their escape. It was commonly believed that Bothwell was guilty of the murder, and it was suspected that he had done it to please the queen and with her consent. This suspicion was strengthened by her conduct. She made no effort to find out the murderer and to bring him to punishment, and on the day of the funeral she gave Bothwell the feudal superiority over the town of Leith. Lennox now came forward and demanded that Bothwell and the other persons suspected of the murder should be tried by the Estates. This was granted and a day was fixed for the trial. But as Lennox was forbidden to bring any but his own household when he appeared as the accuser of the murderer, while Bothwell had a great following, he thought it more prudent not to appear. As no one came forward to bring evidence against Bothwell, he was acquitted, and he offered to give wager of battle to anyone who should still accuse him.

Bothwell was now determined on marrying the queen, and after the parliament rose he got many of the nobles to sign a bond agreeing to help him to do so. As he was already married to Huntly's sister, his wife had to be got rid of first. This was not now such an easy matter as it had been in former times. The canon law had been done away with along with the old church; the reformers had set up a court of their own to try such cases, while the queen had lately restored the old one. To make the matter sure Bothwell's marriage was dissolved in both these courts. As the queen was coming back from Stirling, where she had been to visit her child, Bothwell met her and carried her off to Dunbar, and on the day the divorce was sent they came back to Edinburgh together. He was created Duke of Orkney and Shetland, and they were married by Adam Bothwell, who had been Bishop of Orkney, but was now one of the ministers of the new church, May 15, 1567.

A fortnight later Mary called out the feudal force for an attack on the borderers, but the barons did not answer to her summons. On this the queen and Bothwell, alarmed at the increasing signs of discontent, shut themselves up in his strong castle of Borthwick, and they were scarcely there before an army with Lord Morton and Lord Home at its head appeared at its gates, and they fled to Dunbar. The barons then entered Edinburgh; the governor of the castle gave it up to them. They had the prince in

their hands, and they took measures for carrying on the government, though they still professed to act in the queen's name, and to be only striving to free her from Bothwell. He meanwhile had mustered his followers, who, though nearly equal in numbers, were in discipline far inferior to their opponents. The two armies met near Musselburgh, but there was no battle, for the queen surrendered to William Kirkcaldy of Grange, who had been sent out with a body of horse to cut off her retreat to Dunbar, at Carberry, June 15, 1567, on condition that Bothwell should be allowed to return to Dunbar unhurt. Bothwell escaped first to his own dukedom of Orkney, and afterward to Denmark, where he died about ten years later.

Just a month after her third marriage the queen was brought back to Edinburgh, to be greeted by the railings of the mob, who now openly accused her as a murderess, and paraded before her eyes a banner showing the dead body of her husband, her infant son on his knees, as though praying for justice against the murderers of his father, and the words, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord," embroidered upon it. From Edinburgh she was taken to a lonely castle built on a small island in the center of Loch Leven. A few days later a casket containing eight letters was produced. These letters, it was said, Bothwell had left behind him in his flight, and they seemed to have been written by Mary to him while Darnley was ill in Glasgow. If she really wrote them, they proved very plainly that she had planned the murder with Bothwell. They are called the "casket letters," from the box or casket in which they were found. The confederate barons acted as if they were really hers. The Lord Lindsay and Robert Melville were sent to her at Loch Leven, and she there signed the demission of the government to her son, and desired that Murray should be the first regent. From that time Mary ceased to be Queen of Scots. Her beauty, talents, and misfortunes have won her much pity and many champions, but it was her own folly and sin that changed the love of her people into hate, and their rejection of her stands out as one of the facts in their history that does most honor to the nation.

The infant king, James VI., who was now to be set up in the room of his mother was crowned and anointed at Stirling, 1567. By his sponsor Morton he took an oath to uphold the reformed, or, as its supporters called it, the true church, and to root out all heretics and enemies of the same. Murray was recalled from

France, whither he had gone soon after the murder of the king. He made some objection to accepting the regency, and would not do so till he had had an interview with his sister. At last he agreed to take it, to comply with her wishes, as he said. As the country was crying out for vengeance on the murderers of the king, four of Bothwell's creatures who had aided in his crime were hanged at Edinburgh, but no steps were taken to punish the lords who had joined themselves by a bond with Bothwell.

But there was a large party of the nobles, with the Hamiltons at their head, who were opposed to the new government and kept themselves apart at Hamilton. Before a year of her captivity had passed Mary escaped and joined them there, and again took up the scepter which she had so lately laid down. Eighteen lords of parliament and many lesser barons signed a bond to uphold their queen, and she sent a message from her court at Hamilton to Murray, who was at Glasgow almost unguarded, commanding him to resign the regency. Instead of obeying, Murray seized the herald who had come to proclaim the queen, sent to Stirling for cannon, and called out the feudal force in the name of King James.

The Castle of Dunbarton Rock, the strongest fortress in the kingdom, was held for the queen, and to it she determined to go for greater safety. To get there she had to pass close by Glasgow, where Murray was. At Langside, on the southern shore of the Clyde, her way was barred by the king's army, which, though not so large as her own, had much better leaders. The fight that followed settled the fate of Scotland, May 13, 1568. Few lives were lost, for at the first charge the spears of the front rank were locked in the jacks of their opponents. They could thus neither go backward nor forward, and kept those behind from coming within arm's length of one another. Grange turned the day by charging the queen's force with his cavalry. They fled in confusion, and Mary rode with all speed to the border, crossed the Solway, and going straight to Carlisle, threw herself on the protection of Elizabeth. But Elizabeth had not forgotten how Mary had assumed her arms and had given herself out as the real Queen of England; and as she knew that Mary, if left at liberty, would plot with the English Roman Catholics, she put her in ward in Bolton Castle, and refused to see her till she cleared herself of the suspicion under which she lay of having been concerned in her husband's death. But at the same time Elizabeth would not acknowledge the government of

Scotland, nor approve the conduct of the lords who had set up King James, for she did not like the doctrine that princes, however badly they had acted, might be judged and punished by their subjects.

To give both parties a chance of saying what they could for themselves, it was agreed to hold a conference, to which Murray came in person, and Mary and Elizabeth each sent commissioners. The conference met at York in October. On opening it the Duke of Norfolk required that Murray should do homage in the name of his king to the Queen of England. On this, William Maitland of Lethington, the Scottish Secretary of State, a very subtle man, said that if England liked to give up again the northern counties, once held by Scotland, their king would gladly do homage for them; but as for the kingdom it was as free, or more so, than England itself. This he said to show that they did not ask Elizabeth to judge between them because she had any right to interfere, but only because she was their nearest neighbor. Before the end of the month the conference was removed to Hampton Court, and held before the queen in Council. The lords brought forward the "casket letters," as a proof against Mary, and she refused to vindicate herself, but ordered her commissioners to withdraw. Thus the conference ended, leaving matters much as they were before, for Elizabeth decided that nothing had been brought forward to the dishonor of Murray, nor anything proved against Mary. At the same time she lent Murray five thousand pounds for the maintenance of peace and order between the two countries, which was an indirect acknowledgment of his government.

The Hamiltons and Huntly were the chief upholders of Mary's interest. The Hamiltons wished to keep Mary on the throne, because they were the next heirs to Mary, and in the event of her son dying before her, Chatelherault could claim the Crown. But as they were not the next heirs to James, they were naturally opposed to the revolution which had placed him on the throne, for they feared that if he died when actually reigning the Crown would pass to his heir, Charles Stuart, his father's brother. Huntly held out, from hatred of Murray and love of the old church, which was still strong in his county. A compromise was at last made between the two parties. Murray promised a pardon for all past offenses and a reversal of forfeitures if the other party would promise to obey King James. To make matters more sure, when the Duke of

Chatelherault went up to Edinburgh Murray put him in ward in the castle. Just at this time there was a great rising of the Roman Catholics in the north of England. Murray marched southward in order to be ready to put down any disturbance on the border. There he seized as his prisoner the Earl of Northumberland, the head of the Catholics in England, who had come to seek a refuge on the Scottish side among the borderers, many of whom still clung to the old church.

The Hamiltons had determined on Murray's death. Though the duke was in prison, John, the archbishop, the constant stirrer up of strife, was at liberty, and he was popularly supposed to be the contriver of a plot against the life of the regent. Murray was murdered by James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who shot at him as he was riding in state through that town on his way from Stirling to Edinburgh, February 23, 1570. This foul murder, the third which had disgraced Scotland within the last quarter of a century, was a great misfortune for the country, for Murray had ruled well and wisely; he had put down the Highlanders and the borderers, and had enforced justice and order with a strong hand. In his time the land was visited by a famine and a plague, evils for which the people are ever apt to blame their rulers, but in spite of these calamities he was popular during his life, and was remembered after his death as the Good Regent.

While the government was thus without a head, and the country was in confusion, two English armies invaded Scotland to punish the borderers for the shelter which they had given to the leaders of the late rising in England. One of these armies came north as far as the Clyde and wasted the Hamilton country. Hitherto the queen's party had been chiefly made up of nobles with but a small following, but this attack on the part of the English aroused the old hatred of England and drove a large mass of the people to join them. The choice of Lennox, the king's grandfather, as the new regent, did still more to divide the nation, for not only was he the subject of Elizabeth and recommended by her, but also, when he came to Scotland, it was as joint leader of one of these invading armies. Now, for the first time, the nation was truly divided against itself. The war which followed was the first real civil war in the annals of Scotland. It was no strife of class against class, or of one chief against another, but a war in which the commons were severed into two parties by the great

questions of loyalty, national honor, and religion. Grange, whom Murray had made governor of Edinburgh Castle, declared for the queen, and Lethington, who was there in ward on a charge of having had some part in the king's murder, followed his example.

Dunbarton castle, the strongest in the kingdom, was the chief strength of the queen's party, and in it was the moving spirit of the Hamiltons, John, the much hated and feared archbishop. Both fell during this regency. Crawford of Jordanhill, a retainer of Lennox, took the castle by subtlety with but a handful of men. He scaled the steep rock on which the castle is built under cover of the night, and when he had gained the highest point he turned the guns on the garrison below, who had no choice left but to give in, April 2, 1571. Five days later the archbishop was hanged at Stirling, after the form of a trial had been hurried through, on a charge of having planned the murder of the king and of the regent.

The other noteworthy event during the regency of Lennox was the holding of a parliament, for the first time since 1567. It met at Stirling, and the young king, who lived in the castle under the care of the Earl of Mar, was himself present. While the regent and all the leaders of his party were thus gathered in the town, a body of four hundred men, sent out by the queen's party in Edinburgh Castle, came down upon them suddenly, swept the streets, and captured Morton and the regent; and though the latter was afterward rescued, he had been mortally wounded in the scuffle, and died after lingering a few hours, September 4, 1571. It was then remembered how the little king had spied a hole in the cloth with which the board whereon he sat was covered, and, trying to poke his finger into it, had said, "There is a hole in this parliament." This was looked on as a prophecy of the violent death of the regent, and laid the foundation of that reputation for wisdom and acuteness which clung to James all his life.

John Erskine, Earl of Mar, governor of Stirling, was chosen regent the very next day. As the queen's party, who held Edinburgh, had held a rival parliament in her name in the Parliament House, it was clear that all efforts must be made to get the castle out of their hands. Mar therefore began the siege, and open war broke out. The West, the North, and the Border were for the queen, the eastern Lowlands for the king; the latter looked to England for help, but got none; the former appealed to France with

not much better success. After much useless bloodshed, a truce of two months was agreed on, August 1, 1572.

Under Mar episcopacy was set up again. At least it was settled that the titles and dignities of bishops and archbishops were to stay as they were before the Reformation till the king's majority, but they were shorn of their old authority, and were to be subject to the General Assembly, which now managed all church matters. The people thought so little of them that they called them in mockery "Tulchan" bishops: the word "Tulchan" meaning a sham calf which it was the custom to place before a cow to make her give milk when the real calf had been taken from her. About this time there came the news of the massacre of all the Protestants in Paris on St. Bartholomew's Day. This roused a general horror for Catholics and created a reaction in favor of Presbytery, for the Scots wished to be more like the French Protestants, who had no bishops. It also made many of the queen's party go over to the other side.

Mar died after being little more than a year in office, and Morton, who had latterly directed everything, was chosen regent in his place, November 24, 1572.

On the same day died John Knox, who for thirteen years had been the leader of religious reform in Scotland. He spent his life and his wonderful talents in striving for what he believed to be truth and sound doctrine. One of the finest traits in his character was his moral courage, which enabled him to speak boldly to those who stood highest in rank or power. To this Morton himself bore witness, saying, as he looked on the dead body of Knox, "There lies he who never feared the face of man." His zeal sometimes led him to turn against the Catholics their own weapons of intolerance and persecution, but he lived in times when men had not yet found out that it was best to let one another alone in the matter of religion. In those days anyone who had shown himself tolerant of the errors of others would have been looked on either as a hypocrite or as an unbeliever. But Knox was not so much opposed to bishops and to a set form of prayer as his followers afterward became. He drew up a prayer-book for daily use called the Book of Common Order, which was pretty nearly a translation of the book of the church at Geneva, and was what he had himself used when ministering to the English Protestants who in the reign of Mary Tudor had taken refuge at Frankfort.

With the new year the war began again. Morton was now in possession of the town of Edinburgh, and he held a meeting of the Estates there. But the castle still held out, and it was only by bringing against it an English force of fifteen hundred men that Elizabeth had at last sent that its defenders were reduced to such straits that they were compelled to surrender. Grange gave himself up to the English general and appealed to the English queen. But she either could not or would not protect him. His gallant defense of the castle for Mary was looked on as treason against the government of James, which Elizabeth had in a manner acknowledged. He was given up into the hands of Morton, his bitter enemy, and hanged at Edinburgh, August 3, 1573, in spite of all the efforts of his many friends to save him. Brave, gallant, and unselfish, he was distinguished among a greedy generation by his contempt alike of money and of place. In this he was a great contrast to his companion, the clever, unprincipled, selfish Lethington, who died by his own hand.

Morton had now got all his old enemies out of the way, but he soon made more; partly by his avarice, partly by the firmness with which he insisted that the Crown property should be restored. He offended Argyle by making him give back some Crown jewels, and by trying to stop a feud between him and Athole he made enemies of them both. To make his power complete, Morton longed to get the king into his own hands, but he was kept apart in Stirling, under the care of Erskine the governor, and while there Morton had no more power over him than any of the other nobles. He tried to persuade James, who was now twelve years old, that he was old enough to rule alone, but Argyle and Athole, who were both in the castle at the time, found out his plan and outwitted him. A proclamation was suddenly issued by them, setting forth that the king would now take the government into his own hands, and would act by the advice of a council, March 4, 1578. A time of great confusion followed. Morton, who at first had seemed to lay down his power with a good grace, before long was up in arms, got into Stirling Castle, dispersed the new council, and again directed everything just as he pleased.

About this time Esmé Stuart, Lord of Aubigny, and nephew of the late Earl of Lennox, came from France and became a great favorite with his cousin the king. Aubigny was stirred up by James Stuart of Ochiltree, another favorite, to do his utmost to

turn the king against Morton, whom he already disliked. At length Ochiltree accused Morton before the Council of having been a party in the king's murder, and on this charge he was condemned and beheaded at Edinburgh. After his death the two favorites rose still higher. Aubigny was made Duke of Lennox and Keeper of Dunbarton Castle, and a royal bodyguard was set up in order to give him the dignity of commander. Stuart, whose mother was a Hamilton, was raised to the Earldom of Arran.

Certain of the old nobles, who were displeased and alarmed by the power exercised by these upstarts, bound themselves together to displace them both, and to get the king by a bond into their own power. The Earl of Gowrie, one of the confederates, invited the king to the castle of Ruthven. There he was seized, and Lennox was banished. The king was in captivity nearly a year, and then escaped. At St. Andrews the nobles who were not in the bond gathered around him in such force that the confederates were obliged to yield.

At first James acted moderately and wisely, for he promised to pardon all those who had taken part in the raid of Ruthven; but when Arran got back his old power over him he turned about and declared them all traitors, who must submit to his grace. Upon this most of them fled to England, but Gowrie submitted to the king and was pardoned. Arran had, however, determined on his fall, and Gowrie was so much insulted and slighted at court that he made up his mind to leave the country. Just before he sailed he heard that his old comrades had contrived another plot, and he delayed his setting out in order to have a share in it. Before anything was done, news of it got abroad; Gowrie was seized and, after a very unjust trial, beheaded at Stirling. The other conspirators made off to England again and were outlawed, and their estates were forfeited.

Arran's triumph did not last long. The killing of an Englishman in a border affair, attributed to Arran, was the signal for the banished lords to return. Joining the Hamiltons and Maxwells on the border, they came to Stirling and made their way into the presence of the king, who was forced to seem pleased to see them, as they had eight thousand men to support them, November 4, 1585. A parliament was called soon after, in which three important pieces of business were done. Gowrie's children were restored to the honors forfeited by the treason of their father;

Arran was stripped of all his dignities, and a new league was made with England.

The captive queen, whose influence in the affairs of her own country had ceased with the surrender of Edinburgh, had, during her long imprisonment, been the cause of many plots against the peace of England and the life of Elizabeth. For her share in Babington's Plot, the object of which was the assassination of Elizabeth, she was tried, found guilty, and condemned to death. She was beheaded at Fotheringhay, February 8, 1587. Though James made some show of feelings of grief and anger at the news of his mother's death, no steps were taken to avenge it, and the matter soon seemed to be forgotten.

As James was now of age, his counselors were looking about for a suitable wife for him. Frederick II., King of Denmark, had lately sent offering to pay up the money for which the Orkney and Shetland Isles had been given in pledge, and as Scotland had no wish to give them back, it was thought that the difficulty might be overcome by choosing one of his daughters, who would most likely bring the islands as her dowry. This proposal was agreed to by Frederick. His daughter Anne was betrothed to James, and Keith, the Earl Marshal, was sent to Copenhagen to act as proxy for the king in the marriage ceremony and to bring home the bride. On their way home the wedding party were storm-stayed and obliged to put into a Norwegian port, and the king, to the surprise of everyone, suddenly made up his mind to go himself to fetch his bride. He joined her at Upslo, but as nothing could make him brave the long sea voyage again till the winter was over, they returned together to Copenhagen, and did not come to Scotland till the next spring, May 1, 1590.

For some time the government and the church had been at variance about the bishops. The General Assembly of 1581 had declared the episcopal order to be contrary to the Word of God, and had adopted the Second Book of Discipline as the rule of the government of the church. This book was drawn up by Andrew Melville, who had succeeded Knox as the spiritual leader of the reformed church. He was a zealous Presbyterian, and it was mainly owing to him that the Scottish Church adopted that form of church government. The Ruthven lords had been the champions of the presbyterian or no-bishop party, and, while they were in power, the ministers upheld by them had taken more and more

authority upon themselves. In theory they placed the church far above the civil power, and they taught that the chief magistrate, the king, ought to be subject to them in all matters of conscience and religion. They also claimed the right of the old church in interfering with people's private affairs. Each minister looked on himself as bishop over his own flock, and would not submit to again having any overseer set over him. But, as the removal of the bishops as spiritual peers would have been the removal of one of the three Estates—that one, too, that had always been on the side of the Crown—and as their existence served as a pretext to the nobles for drawing their revenues, it was clearly the interest both of the Crown and of the nobles to maintain them. In 1588 Philip of Spain fitted out a great fleet for the invasion of England. This caused a great panic throughout Scotland. The people feared that Philip might conquer England and bring it again under the dominion of the Pope, in which case the subjection of Scotland must soon follow. The Covenant for the maintenance of the Protestant religion, which had been signed in 1581, was renewed and signed all over the land. So great was the dread of the Bishop of Rome that the people looked on all bishops with suspicion, and in 1592 an act was passed by which the whole order was swept away and the presbyterian polity established. Thenceforth the church was to be governed by a series of courts, the members of which were presbyters. The ministers of several parishes formed a presbytery, these again were grouped together into synods, while supreme over all was the General Assembly, composed of ministers and lay elders from the several presbyteries, which was to meet once a year at Edinburgh, and at which the king or his commissioner was to be present.

Still a large party adhered to the old church. The chiefs of this party were Huntly in the North and the Maxwells on the border. They were always suspected of planning for its restoration, and, as the king could not or would not proceed against them, he was supposed to favor their plans. In 1592 eight suspicious papers were seized on the person of George Kerr, who was leaving Scotland by the western coast. These papers, called the Spanish blanks, were signed by Huntly, Errol, and Angus, but had no other writing on them. Kerr, after being put to the torture, declared that these blank papers were to be filled up by two Jesuits who were commissioned to offer the services of the nobles who had

signed them to the King of Spain, to aid him in the reëstablishment of the old religion. This discovery filled everyone with horror. Angus was seized; but as Huntly retreated to his own country in the North, Argyle, his rival in the Highlands, was sent with full power against him. Huntly defeated Argyle's army, but the Catholic party was too weak to follow up the victory, and in 1597 Huntly and Errol publicly renounced their old faith, and joined the established church.

The king and the church were not long at peace. He called certain of their ministers to account before the council for what they had said in the pulpit. The ministers looked upon this interference as an attack on their privileges. The people supported them, and the result was a riot, so serious that the Court had to flee to Linlithgow. Upon this the king threatened to take away the courts of justice from Edinburgh. The fear of this damped the spirit of the mob, and after the return of the Court the ministers who had withstood the king fled to England. The Estates soon after passed an act by which the king might confer on any minister the title of bishop or abbot, but only so as to give him a seat in parliament; the title was not to imply any lordship over his brethren.

On the morning of August 5, 1600, as James was setting out hunting from Falkland Palace, he was met by Alexander Ruthven, the younger brother of the Earl of Gowrie, who told him with a great air of mystery of some suspicious circumstances, and begged him to come to Gowrie House in Perth to see him. James went, taking with him Mar, Lennox, and about twenty other gentlemen. After dinner Alexander took the king aside, and, when his attendants missed him, they were told that he had gone back to Falkland. They were preparing to follow him there when some of them heard cries from a turret. They recognized the king's voice, and they presently saw his head thrust out of a window calling for help. They had much ado to make their way to him, but they found him at last in a small room struggling with Alexander, while a man dressed in armor was looking on. Alexander Ruthven and Gowrie were both killed in the scuffle which followed. A tumult rose in the town, for the earl had been Provost and was very popular with the townsfolk, and the king and his followers had to make their escape by the river. The doom of traitors was passed on the dead men, and their name was proscribed, but, as no

accomplice could be discovered, it was hard to say what was the extent or object of their plot. The whole affair was very mysterious, and only eight years later were some letters discovered which threw some more light on the mystery. They revealed a plan for bringing some prisoner, who was not named, but might possibly be the king, to Fast Castle. The man in whose hands the letters were discovered was found guilty of treason, and was put to death for not revealing all he knew about the plot long before.

When Elizabeth died James was the nearest heir to the throne of England by right of descent from Margaret, elder daughter of Henry VII. But her right had been passed over by Henry VIII., who had in the will which he was empowered by Parliament to make settled the succession on the heirs of his younger sister, Mary. As it was politically convenient to the English Privy Council that James should succeed Elizabeth on her death, they sent off post haste to summon him to come and take the crown. His questionable right was made good by the voice of the people in his first Parliament. He entered London May 6, 1603. Hitherto he had had less money and less power than almost any other prince in Europe; he now became suddenly one of the richest and most powerful among them. This union of the crowns made the third break in the history of Scotland. The gallant struggle for freedom which had drawn forth all the energies of the nation during the past three centuries was now over. It was now to be united to the powerful neighbor that had so long threatened its independence. The representative of the ancient royal Celtic line, which the national reverence for hereditary royalty had upheld unbroken through the strain of seven long minorities, now became king of the larger and richer kingdom of England, which had been ruled by one foreign dynasty after another ever since the Norman Conquest.

In Scotland the feudal system was still unshaken. To it the great barons owed their power, and the Reformation, which in England had strengthened the Crown, had in Scotland only thrown more wealth and more power into the hands of the nobles. Hitherto the people had been only dependents of the great feudal barons, whose burdens they bore in return for their protection. Still they could not have been very badly off, for in Scotland there were no peasant wars, as in France and England. It was the Reformation which first brought them out as a separate body in the state. Their condition was now much worse than it had formerly been. The

Crown brought its increased power to bear upon the nobles, who in their turn, slaves and flatterers at the foreign Court and tyrants at home, used their feudal rights for the oppression of the people, who could hope for no redress from their absent king.

We have, in this chapter, traced the progress of the Reformation, and noted the changes which it made in the state of the nation. Though the Reformation did not begin so soon in Scotland as in Germany and England, it made more striking changes and overthrew the old church more completely than it did in either of those counties. It first gave to the people an independent national life. Until it roused them to separate action, they had been swayed by no party feelings, but had blindly followed the lead and fought in the feuds of their feudal superiors, without paying any heed to the cause for which they laid down their lives. The Reformation also broke off the alliance with France which had subsisted ever since the War of Independence. All the events of this period are closely connected with the change of religion, and it is marked by more civil war, more bloodshed, more crimes of violence, more party strife, more treachery and wrong and robbery, than any other period in the history of Scotland. It was the bad faith of Mary of Lorraine which first drove the reformers to take up arms in defense of their opinions. Under their own native queen they hoped to enjoy liberty of conscience, and as they looked to her to redress their grievances they welcomed her return with much loyal feeling. By the craftiness and dissimulation of her policy in public affairs, and by the scandals of her private life, she changed their loyal affection into loathing and contempt, and finally forfeited the Crown. During the long minority which followed, the country was desolated by a civil war, and the Crown was impoverished by the grasping greediness of the nobles. When the king came of age, he showed himself quite unequal to the task of ruling and uniting the different rival factions in the church and in the state, and allowed himself to be governed by one worthless favorite after another. Nor were the ecclesiastical affairs of this period at all more settled than the secular. The form of church government was changed four times before the Presbyterian polity was finally established in 1592. The lands of the old church had been seized by the most worthless of the nobles instead of being set apart for the support of the new church, so that the ministers could with difficulty secure a bare subsistence. During such an

unhappy state of affairs there could be little social or intellectual development. There were, however, among the reformers many men distinguished for their learning and brilliant talents. Of these the most conspicuous were George Buchanan, tutor to the young king, who wrote a fabulous history of Scotland and other books in very elegant Latin, and John Knox, who wrote a history of the Reformation remarkable for the vigor, clearness, and simplicity of its style. Sir James Melville, who was also an accomplished courtier, and stood high in favor both with Mary and with James, gives an excellent picture of these disturbed times in his very entertaining memoirs. The Prayer Book of the Reformed Church was also translated into Gaelic. It was published in 1567, and was the first Celtic book that had ever yet been printed.

Chapter VII

THE UNION OF THE CROWNS. 1603-1707

IMMEDIATELY after the union of the Crowns the border laws on each side were repealed, and it was settled that subjects of either country born after the union should no longer be looked on as aliens in the other, but should have the undisputed right of inheriting property in either. A Lord High Commissioner was appointed to represent the king in Scotland, and there was some talk of a union of the parliaments, but it was not carried out.

The great desire of the king was to bring the church of Scotland into conformity with the church of England. To bring this about, he summoned some of the ministers to England, in the hope that he should be able to persuade them to agree with him. Melville, their leader, spoke out so plainly against episcopacy before the bishops in the Privy Council that he was sent to the Tower and finally banished. But the king carried his point, and in 1606 the Estates passed an act for the restoration of the bishops. No acts of church government were in future to be lawful without their consent, and though the General Assembly was still to go on, its power was to be very much lessened. As the old line of Scottish bishops had died out, John Spottiswood, Andrew Lamb, and Gavin Hamilton were consecrated by English bishops at London House to the bishoprics of Glasgow, Brechin, and Galloway. To avoid all dispute about the old claim of supremacy, neither of the English archbishops was present. But these bishops had a very hard time of it, for they did not get the lands of their sees restored to them as had been promised, and many of them had hard work to get a living at all. In 1610 two Courts of High Commission were set up. These courts were afterward united into one, but as this court was under the control of the Court of Session, it could never be so tyrannical as the Court of High Commission in England.

In the early part of his reign James had tried to do something to improve the state of the Highlands. To this end three

new burghs were founded, and the lands of all chiefs who could not show written titles were declared forfeited. These lands were given to Lowland colonists, who were, however, soon glad to give up any attempt at settling among their lawless neighbors. The MacGregors, whose district lay close on the Lowland border, had shown themselves the most savage and lawless of all the Highland clans. Argyle was commissioned to hunt them down, but they beat the Lowlanders with great slaughter in a battle at Glen Fruin in 1604. Their chief was afterward taken and hanged, and the name proscribed, but that was only breaking the power of one clan, while the others remained as formidable as ever. To prevent such outbreaks in future Argyle and Huntly were intrusted with full powers to carry on the planting of the Highlands. Three conditions were required of those chiefs who were suffered to stay in possession of their lands: that they should give sureties for the good order of their clans; promise to let their land for a fixed rent in money instead of all other exactions; and agree to send their children to school in the Lowlands. These changes not only strengthened the government, but made united action on the part of the clans more difficult.

The king paid only one visit to Scotland after his accession to the throne of England. He then gave great offense by introducing ceremonial vestments at the service in his own chapel. These vestments and other ornaments which were customary in England were hateful to the Presbyterians. The passing of the Five Articles by a General Assembly held at Perth completed their dismay, and plainly showed the king's intention to impose upon them the ceremonies which they so much disliked. By these articles the private administration of the sacraments was allowed, all persons were enjoined to kneel at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to bring their children to the bishops for confirmation, and to observe the five great festivals of the Christian church as holidays.

The poverty of their country and the love of adventure had made the Scots from the earliest times ever ready to seek their fortunes abroad. They had won themselves renown as soldiers or traders in nearly all the countries of the Old World, but they had not as yet any colony of their own in the new one. Hitherto these emigrants, though they were called Scots, had been chiefly Saxons from the Lowlands, but in the beginning of this reign bodies of

Celts had gone back to the original Scotia, and in Ulster, their old home, they won back settlements from the kindred Celtic race who now looked on them as intruders. But while some of the wanderers thus went back to the old country, others were founding a New Scotland beyond the sea. This, the third land to which the wandering people gave its name, was called by the Latin form of the name, Nova Scotia. It was granted by a royal charter to Sir William Alexander, afterward Earl of Stirling, the projector of this scheme of emigration in 1621. This new settlement was divided into one thousand parts, and every adventurer who was willing to brave the hardships of an uncleared country, and resist the encroachments of the neighboring settlers, was rewarded with the rank and title of baronet. About the same time, too, the Lowlanders were encouraged to go over to the north of Ireland and to take up the lands from which the Irish chiefs had been driven. As the soil there was much better than that which they had left, they gladly agreed to the change, and passed over in great numbers, more than ten thousand going in two years.

On March 27, 1625, the king died. He had governed Scotland during his twenty-two years of absence with a much firmer hand than in the troubled time of his personal rule. He had then been quite at the mercy of his ministers and of the nobles. The wealth and power of his larger kingdom made him now able to deal with the smaller one pretty much as he liked, and the nobles were too eagerly seeking favor and place at the richer court to be willing to risk the loss of them by opposing his will. James was quite unlike all his forefathers. He had good abilities and an unusual amount of learning, besides a good deal of common sense and shrewdness, which he sometimes made use of, but his repulsive appearance and manners, and his want of self-reliance, exposed him to ridicule and contempt. He had none of the courage, high spirit, graceful tastes, and ready wit that spread a veil over the faults and vices of his ancestors. Yet he alone escaped the tragic fate that seemed the doom of all the Stuart line, and was singled out from among them for an almost fairy-like change and advance of fortune.

Charles I., who succeeded James as king of the two kingdoms, had even more exalted ideas than his father of the power of the prerogative. It fell to the lot of the Scots to take the lead and set an example to the English in resisting his arbitrary measures. Be-

fore he had been a year on the throne it was clear that he meant to carry out his father's plan of making the Scottish church as like the English church as possible. He issued a proclamation recalling all the church lands which were in the hands of laymen, whether they had been granted by the Crown or not. The holders protested against this injustice, and at last a compromise was made by which they agreed to give up part of the lands they held on condition of having their claim to the rest made good.

In 1633 Charles came to Scotland and was crowned with great pomp in the Abbey church of Holyrood. The vestments that were worn on this occasion by the clergy gave great offense to the people. Their discontent was increased by an order from the king enjoining their own ministers to wear surplices, and the bishops to wear rochets and sleeves, instead of the Geneva cloak, as heretofore. While Charles was in Scotland a meeting of the Estates was held, in which he met with no opposition, owing to a new arrangement in choosing the Lords of the Articles. Formerly this committee had consisted of eight members from each Estate chosen by their own peers; but now the bishops were first chosen, they again chose the barons, and barons and bishops together chose the commons, so that all those chosen were really the allies of the bishops. A supplication was drawn up to remonstrate with the king about this interference, but, instead of taking it in good part, Charles was very angry, treated their remonstrance as a political offense, and put the Lord Balmerinoch, who had revised the supplication which was presented to him, in prison. He was afterward pardoned, but this did not make the king any more popular, as it was thought that he had only liberated Balmerinoch from fear and not from good-will. While in Scotland he founded a new bishopric at Edinburgh, which had formerly formed part of the diocese of St. Andrews.

The discontent and distrust of the people which had been roused by the introduction of vestments, by the increase in the number of the bishops, and by the appointment of the primate as chancellor, were now brought to a head by the appearance of a Book of Canons, or rules for the government of the church. This book they were called on to accept in place of the Book of Discipline, on the authority of the king alone, unconfirmed by the Estates, and not long after the king attempted to change their form of worship as well. Through the influence of Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury,

a Liturgy was drawn up on the plan of the first book of Edward VI. From this Liturgy the Scottish clergy were commanded by the king to read prayers in the churches, instead of from the book of Common Order, which was still in general use.

The imposition of this book roused the old national jealousy. The people thought that to have an English service book forced upon them would be a mark of subjection; and on the day named by the king for bringing it into use, July 16, 1637, when the Dean of Edinburgh tried to read the prayers from it in St. Giles's Church, a riot broke out. Stools and books were thrown at the Dean, the Archbishop, and the Bishop of Edinburgh, who had great difficulty in escaping out of the hands of the mob. And this tumult was but a sign of the common feeling throughout the country. The king was highly incensed and ordered the offenders to be brought to punishment, and the use of the Liturgy to be enforced. Numberless petitions against it from all ranks of the people poured in on the Privy Council, or were sent up to London to the king, while Edinburgh was thronged with the petitioners from all parts of the country waiting for the answer which they hoped would be favorable. No answer was given to them, but the king issued a proclamation ordering them all to return to their homes, and threatening to remove the courts from Edinburgh to Linlithgow if the disturbance continued, as had been done in the late reign. But this had no effect. The bishops and the other members of the Council were mobbed, and the supplicants joined in a common petition to the king, called the Great Supplication.

The Council finding it impossible to treat with a turbulent mob which increased instead of diminishing, persuaded the malcontents to choose representatives to act in their names, four from each class—nobles, lesser barons, clergy, and burgesses. The rest were to return peaceably to their several homes. But this committee, known as the Tables, gave the Council more trouble than the unruly mob had done, for they made their way into the Council chamber, insisted on debating there, and demanded that the bishops should be turned out.

Still the king would not give in, and he met a less submissive protest on the part of his subjects by another threatening proclamation. On this in 1638 the Tables renewed the Covenant, with a clause added to it aimed at the bishops. At the last renewal of the Covenant, only notable persons had put their names to it, but this

time it was signed by everyone throughout the land, rich and poor alike. There was the greatest excitement and enthusiasm about it all over the country, and from this time the popular party became known as the Covenanters.

A few months later the Marquis of Hamilton came to Scotland as Commissioner with full power, it was said, to settle everything. The demands of the Covenanters were that the Court of High Commission, the Canons and the Liturgy should all be abolished, and that a free Assembly and a free Parliament should be summoned. But Hamilton, acting on the orders given him, kept putting them off with promises till the king should be ready to put them down by force, when suddenly the king turned about, promised all they asked, and agreed that the Assembly should be called, and that the bishops should be tried by it.

The Assembly met in the Cathedral Church at Glasgow, November 21, 1638. Hamilton opened it as the Royal Commissioner. But after a few days, when the attack on the bishops began, he withdrew and ordered the members to disperse. They paid no heed to this order, but went on with the trial of the bishops, who were all deposed and eight of them excommunicated. The Canons and the Liturgy were then rejected, and all acts of the Assemblies held since 1606 were annulled.

In the North, where Huntly was the king's lieutenant, the Covenant had not been received, and the Tables resolved to enforce it with the sword. Scotland was now full of trained soldiers just come back from Germany, where they had learned to fight in the Thirty Years' War, and as plenty of money had been collected among the Covenanters, an army was easily raised. Their banner bore the motto, "For Religion, the Covenant, and the Country," and their leader was James Graham, Earl of Montrose, one of the most zealous among the champions of the cause. Aberdeen, Huntly's capital, dared make no resistance. But in the first brush of actual war in the king's party, the Cavaliers, or Malignants, as their opponents called them, had the advantage. In this action, called the Trot of Turriff, the first blood was shed in the great Civil War. The Cavaliers were the first to draw the sword. Though Huntly had been taken out of the way by his removal to Edinburgh, his two sons supplied his place and called out the Highlanders. Aberdeen changed hands, and again Montrose was sent to subdue the North before the expected struggle with England should begin.

At the Bridge of Dee he defeated the Malignants, and once more entered Aberdeen in triumph. Just after this entry the news was brought that peace had been made between the king and the other army of the Covenant on the border, June, 1639.

While Montrose had been thus busy for the Covenant in the North, the king had been making ready to put down his rebellious Scottish subjects with the sword. Early in May a fleet entered the Forth under the command of Hamilton. But the Tables took possession of the strongholds, and seized the ammunition which had been laid in for the king. They then raised another army of 22,000 foot and 1200 horse, and placed at its head Alexander Leslie, a veteran trained in the German war. Their army they sent southward to meet the English host which the king was bringing to reduce Scotland. The two armies faced each other on opposite banks of the Tweed. The Scots were skillfully posted on Dunse Law, a hill commanding the northern road. To pass them without fighting was impossible, and to fight would have been almost certain defeat. The king seeing this agreed to treat. By a treaty called the "Pacification of Berwick," it was settled that the questions at issue between the king and the Covenanters should be put to a free Assembly, that both armies should be disbanded, and that the strongholds should be restored to the king, June 9, 1639.

The Assembly which met at Edinburgh repeated and approved all that had been done at Glasgow. When the Estates met for the first time in the New Parliament House, June 2, 1640, they went still further, for they not only confirmed the acts of the Assemblies, but ordered everyone to sign the Covenant under pain of civil penalties. Now for the first time they acted in open defiance of the king, to whom hitherto they had professed the greatest loyalty and submission. Three times had they been adjourned by the king, who had also refused to see the Commissioners whom they sent up to London. Now they met in spite of him, and, as in former times of troubles and difficulties, they appealed to France for help. When this intrigue with the French was found out, the Lord Loudon, one of their Commissioners, was sent to the Tower, and the English Parliament was summoned to vote supplies for putting down the Scots by force of arms. But by this time the English were beginning to see that the cause of the Scots was the cause of freedom. There was much difficulty in raising an army to march against them, and when raised it was discontented and mutinous.

As for the Scots, they mustered stronger than before, and on August 20, 1640, they crossed the Tweed and entered England. At Newburn they defeated a body of English, and crossing the Tyne, marched on to Newcastle, which yielded to them without offering resistance. They then took Durham, Tynemouth, and Shields without a struggle. Meanwhile news came from Scotland that the two great strongholds of the East and of the West, Edinburgh and Dunbarton, had again fallen into their hands.

Once more they sent to the king, who was then at York, a supplication in which they declared that all they wanted was satisfaction to their just demands. The king laid the matter before a great council of peers which he had called at York. By their advice it was decided to treat with the Scots. Eight Commissioners from their army came to Ripon, and the treaty which was begun there was not ended until nearly a year afterward at London. All that they asked was granted, and they were promised three hundred thousand pounds to defray the expenses of this war, into which they said they had been driven. The armies were then disbanded, and peace seemed to be restored. The king came to Scotland once more, and a meeting of the Estates was held in which he let the members have their own way in everything. He also confirmed the right of the Estates to meet once every three years, and fixed the next meeting for June, 1644.

This seeming peace was but the lull before the storm, and before one year had passed the English had followed the example set them by the Scots in resisting the unlawful exactions of the king; the Long Parliament had brought his minister Strafford, the chief agent of his despotism, to the scaffold, and had called on the people to arm in defense of their rights and liberties. When the great Civil War began in earnest, each side was eager to secure the help of the fine army which the Scots had at their command.

Religious opinion decided the matter. The Parliament, which was as much opposed to episcopacy as the Scots were, adopted the solemn League and Covenant, and ordered everyone to sign it, and by so doing induced the Scots to join them. The army was raised again, and put under the command of the two Leslies, Alexander, now Earl of Leven, and his nephew David, who soon proved the better soldier of the two. A second time they entered England, January 19, 1644, and leaving a part of their force to besiege New-

castle marched on into Yorkshire, and joined the troops of the Parliament in time to share their victory at Marston Moor. Newcastle was taken by storm, October 19.

Meanwhile Montrose, whose zeal for the Covenant had now changed into zeal for the king, was taking advantage of the absence of the Covenanting force in England to win back the North for Charles with an army of Celts alone. It was the first time that the Highlanders had been turned to account in regular war. Hitherto they had been thought only capable of preying upon one another, but now, under a general who knew how to handle them, they did wonders. The Lowlanders who had hastily mustered to oppose them were beaten at Tippermuir. Then in a series of rapid movements, Montrose took several towns, overran the country, and defeated the Covenanters. Thus in a wonderfully short time he won back nearly the whole country for the king. But the secret of his success had lain in the rapid marches and sudden attacks that kept his men busy. When the fighting was over, the Highlanders, as was their wont, went off in large numbers to take home their spoil. In this way his army was diminished. David Leslie, who had been summoned home to oppose him, brought some cavalry from the southern army against his weakened force, and won a complete victory at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, September 12, 1645. Montrose retreated with the small remnant that was left to him, but he found it impossible to reassemble his scattered force. His campaign had lasted little more than a year, and a few months later the king, who had thrown himself on the protection of the Scottish army at Newark, ordered him to lay down his arms. Montrose obeyed and left the country.

While the Scottish army was lying before Newark, Charles, whose cause was now nearly hopeless, secretly left Oxford, where he was besieged by the army of the Parliament, and sought protection in the camp of the Scots. A few days afterward Newark surrendered, and they returned with the king to Newcastle. He stayed in their hands eight months. During this time, though they behaved toward him with respect and courtesy, he was really their prisoner, and they were busy treating with the Parliament for the terms of his surrender. If he had turned Presbyterian and signed the Covenant, no doubt they would have protected him, but after many arguments with Henderson, a noted divine of their party, he still remained unconvinced. In the end they agreed to leave Eng-

land on payment of 400,000*l.* arrears of pay that were due to them. When they returned to their own country they left the king to the mercy of the English Parliament.

A few months later, when Charles was a prisoner at Carisbrooke, he made a secret treaty with the moderate party in Scotland, to the effect that, if they would help him to win back his power, he would confirm the Covenant and would make a trial of the Presbyterian Church in England. On this the Committee of Estates, in whose hands the government was, raised an army and sent it into England, with Hamilton, who had been created a duke, at its head. They were defeated at Preston by Oliver Cromwell, lieutenant-general of the parliamentary army. The duke marched on to Uttoxeter. There he and his army laid down their arms, and yielded themselves prisoners, August 25, 1648. But the extreme party in Scotland were very wroth against the Engagers, as they called those who had made this "engagement" with the king. They thought that the taking of the Covenant by the king was a mere pretense, and that Hamilton's expedition was a sinful helping of the Malignants. A change in the government was the result. Argyle, the head of the extreme Covenanters, raised his followers, while from the Western Lowlands, which were just waking to zeal for the Covenant, a body of men, with Lord Eglinton at their head, marched on Edinburgh. This was called the Whiggamore's Raid, from Whig, a word used in the Westland for urging on horses. This was the origin of the word Whig, which gradually became the nickname of a political party. Argyle and his party came to terms with Cromwell, and formed a new Committee of Estates. Cromwell then marched to Edinburgh, and made them give him an assurance that none of the Engagers should be allowed to take any part in the government. By the Act of Classes which was then passed, all profane persons and enemies of the Covenant were likewise shut out from holding office.

The Scots now hoped to see their church and their Covenant adopted over all three kingdoms. In this hope they were disappointed, for the most of the parliamentary party were Independents, who had no idea of exchanging the tyranny of bishops for that of presbyters. An assembly of divines met at Westminster, June 12, 1643, to settle religious matters. They adopted the Covenant, and the Scots in return accepted their directory of public worship, and the Confession of Faith drawn up by them in place of their own

Books of Discipline and Common Order. But though the Covenant was thus nominally accepted in England, the different English sects were allowed far more liberty than the strict Covenanters thought right.

On January 30, 1649, the king was beheaded at Whitehall. With the court of justice which professed to try him, with the sentence which it passed, and with the execution of that sentence, the Scots had nothing whatever to do. As they had no idea of the existence of their kingdom without a king, nor of having any other king than the hereditary one, no sooner was the news of the king's death known in Edinburgh than Charles, his son, was proclaimed King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.

Hamilton, who was a prisoner in England, was brought to trial as an English subject by his English title of Earl of Cambridge; he was found guilty of treason in invading the country, and was beheaded. Huntly met with a like fate in Scotland. He was also charged with treason in having made war for the king against the Covenanters. Meanwhile in the north Montrose made one more effort for the king, but failed, and was hanged at Edinburgh without trial under an old sentence of treason.

But while the Estates were thus dealing with the leaders of the Malignants, they were busy on their own account treating for the return of Charles. They looked on him as their lawful king, and they were ready to be faithful to him if he would sign the Covenant and promise to submit to the dictates of the Assembly. These promises he made, and, before he landed, he signed the Covenant, in July, 1650, while the courtiers whom he had brought with him were nearly all sent away as being either Malignants or Engagers.

No sooner did the news of these doings reach London than Cromwell was sent northward with a large army to put a stop to them. The old hatred of England was rekindled by this invasion, and numbers of recruits flocked round the banner of the Covenant. The army thus brought together was made up of good soldiers who made no pretenses to piety, and of would-be saints who knew nothing of fighting. But the saints drove from their ranks all whom they suspected of lukewarmness in the cause and therefore looked on as sinners, and thus weeded out their best soldiers. Those who were left were put under the command of Leslie, and the king was not suffered to go out with the host. They took up a strong posi-

tion on the hills south of the Firth of Forth, and for some time Cromwell tried in vain to bring them to a battle, but at last Leslie was persuaded against his better judgment to go down into the plain and meet the enemy. A battle was fought near Dunbar, September 3, in which the Scots were thoroughly beaten.

Meanwhile Charles was in Dunfermline, in old times the royal city, under care so strict and watchful that it was very much like imprisonment. The life which he led there was so distasteful to him that he made his escape, in hopes of joining the Northern chiefs. But his plans were badly laid. He found no one to meet him, as he had expected, and he was pursued and brought back by his former guardians. According to the ancient custom, Charles was crowned at Scone by the hands of the Marquis of Argyle.

While Cromwell was busy in Scotland the Scottish army marched into England. This time they took the king with them. But Cromwell hastened after them, came up with them at Worcester, and defeated them there, September 3, 1651, exactly a year after his victory at Dunbar. This was the last battle fought in the Civil War. The Scots had been the first to take up the sword, and they were the last to lay it down. Charles, after wandering about for some time in danger, and in want, escaped to the Continent. Meanwhile General Monk, who had been left in Scotland with an army of 5000 men, was reducing the country to subjection. The public records deposited in Stirling Castle were sent to the Tower of London, but the regalia could not be found. They had been secretly taken from the castle where they were supposed to be, and were kept well concealed.

Cromwell, now Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, set to work to carry out Edward I.'s idea of a legislative union of England and Scotland. This union was ratified by the Council in 1654. It was then settled that Scotland should be represented by thirty members in the English Parliament. Free trade was established between the two countries. Great changes were also made in the church government. The Assembly was closed, and the power of the church courts was done away with. The country was divided into five districts, and the care of providing ministers for the different parishes was laid upon a certain number of ministers to be chosen from these districts. In order to improve the state of the people, all feudal dues were taken away. A fixed rent in money was substituted for all the services and restrictions

to which the land had hitherto been liable. The Highlands were kept in order by the founding of garrison forts.

Once only was the peace and order thus well established broken in favor of the Stuarts. A rising was made in the Highlands by William Cunningham, Lord Glencairn, who acted under a commission from Charles. More than 5000 men gathered round him. They were dispersed by a detachment of Monk's troops under General Morgan at Loch Garry before they had come down from the Highlands.

The Protector, whose conquest had made Scotland prosperous, died September 3, 1658. His son Richard succeeded him in office, but he was not strong enough to keep order, as his father had done. A time of great confusion followed, which ended in the recall and restoration of Charles. This was chiefly the work of General Monk. He was commander of the army in Scotland during the Protectorate. Some time after Cromwell's death he called together a Convention of the Representatives of the Counties. Whether they knew of his intention of restoring Charles or not is not certain. But they aided him with a large sum of money. In November, 1659, he set out with the army for London, and in about six months' time Charles returned in triumph to England. In Scotland, where Charles had been already crowned, his return was celebrated with great rejoicings by the people, who hoped that he would uphold the Covenant which he had signed. Before long they found out how much they had been mistaken. In the very first English Parliament an act was passed which took from Scotland the privilege of free trade with England, which she had enjoyed under Cromwell. This was the Navigation Act, by which the exporting and importing of merchandise into England or any of her colonies was forbidden to any but English vessels.

When the Estates met an act called the Act Rescissory was passed. By this act, all the acts passed since 1633 were cut out of the Statutes; nearly all the concessions wrung from Charles I. were recalled. The causes of dispute between the king and the people were thus restored to the state in which they had been before the great struggle began. In this same year Episcopacy was re-established by the Estates, and the Covenant was publicly burned by the hangman. As there was but one of the old bishops still alive, three new ones were consecrated in England. James Sharp was the Primate. He had gone up to London to plead the cause

of the Covenant and of presbyters; he came back an archbishop, and was thenceforward foremost in persecuting the cause he had deserted.

The Government of Scotland was intrusted to a Privy Council. Its authority was supported by a standing lifeguard, the troop that former kings had often asked for in vain. To this council were intrusted the supreme powers of the Estates during the intervals between the Sessions. An Act of Indemnity was promised, but before it was passed several persons suffered death. Two of those who thus fell were specially distinguished. The one was Argyle, whose great power made him a dangerous rival to the king. He was treacherously seized and beheaded for treason, May 27, 1661. But the victim who was most regretted and whose fate called forth the most pity was James Guthrie, a noted divine, the leader of the extreme party among the Covenanters, called the Remonstrants. They had prepared a remonstrance to be presented to the king, praying that no form of worship but their own might be suffered within the realm. This remonstrance was drawn up by Guthrie. Although it was never presented, Guthrie was now brought to trial on a charge of spreading abroad sedition and treason against the government. Refusing any legal defense, he was found guilty and beheaded, being looked on by the Covenanters as a martyr for his faith.

The promised Act of Indemnity was not passed till 1662, and it was not a free pardon, as had been looked for. Between seven and eight hundred persons were heavily fined. In this same year an act was passed requiring all persons holding any public office to sign a declaration that the Covenant was an unlawful oath; and lastly a law was passed that all ministers presented to livings since 1639 should be turned out, unless they would agree to be collated or instituted by the new bishops. The ministers who refused to consent to Episcopal collation were required to remove with their families out of their parishes within a month from the date of the passing of this act. The meeting of the Council in which it was passed was called the Drunken Parliament, from the condition of the members present. Sooner than submit to this, three hundred and fifty ministers resigned. Most of their parishioners followed them, and the churches were left empty, while the people flocked to the open-air services of their former pastors. To prevent this an act was passed for levying fines on all persons who did not go to

their parish church on the Lord's Day. Another act, called the Mile Act, was also passed, which forbade the recusant or refusing ministers to come within twenty miles of their former parishes, or within three miles of any royal burgh. The Court of High Commission was revived, and empowered to proceed against all dissenters from the Episcopal (now the Established) Church, whether they were Catholics or Presbyterians. But this tyranny drove the people to revolt, and a third religious war began. In the first the people had taken up arms for a question of doctrine; the second arose from disputes about a form of prayer; this, the third, was caused by enforcing a form of church government specially disliked by the nation. In the conduct of public prayer no change was made. As there had been in James's reign a Presbyterian Church with a Liturgy, so now there was an Episcopal Church without one. But, though the cause of dispute seemed this time of less importance than in the two former wars, the zeal on the one side and the persecution on the other were greater than they had been in the former struggles. Then Edinburgh and the Eastern Lowlands had borne the brunt of the battle; now it was in the West, where it was latest kindled, that religious zeal flamed fiercest and lasted longest.

In spite of fines and penalties the churches still remained empty, while the people went long distances to gather round their "outed" ministers. On the hillsides, wherever in short they were least likely to be dispersed by the dragoons, they met to hear the sermons of their favorite preachers. But so great was the danger incurred by thus worshiping God according to their consciences that sentries were stationed on the hilltops round to give warning of the approach of danger, and the men stacked their muskets so that they could seize and use them on a moment's notice. Such meetings were called conventicles, and to hunt them down bands of soldiers scoured the country in all directions. In the southwest the troops were under the command of Sir James Turner, and it was his severity that drove the people to actual revolt. A large body of peasants soon gathered (1666) to protect their conventicles. They seized Turner at Dumfries, and, when their numbers had increased to nearly three thousand, they set out for Edinburgh, expecting the people of the Eastern Counties to show their former spirit by rising to join them. General Thomas Dalziel, who had made a reputation by fighting for the Emperor of Russia

against Turks and Tartars, was sent to bar their way. But they avoided and passed him. He had to come back after them, but they were so well posted that the troops could only break and disperse them by repeated attacks. But the feeling of this district had changed so much that the peasantry now turned against these wild Whigs of the Westland, and treated them nearly as badly as the troopers had done.

This rising did no real good; the tyranny became even more cruel than before. The trials which followed were infamous, from the shameful and constant use of torture. The instruments used for this purpose were the thumbkin, a screw applied to the thumb-joint, and the boot, a cylinder in which the leg of the victim was crushed by hammering in wedges. Both inflicted the most fearful pain without destroying life. Twenty men were hanged in different places. The fines and forfeitures inflicted were given as rewards to soldiers and lawyers who might get them out of the offenders as they best could. At this time certain bonds called law-burrows were originated. These were bonds by which all the principal men in a district pledged themselves to prevent those beneath them in rank from breaking the peace.

But these measures only increased the disorders they were intended to quiet, and the government tried a new system of greater toleration. An indulgence was issued, by which those of the outed ministers who could prove that they had lived peaceably and had not held conventicles since they had been turned out of their livings, were allowed to go back to their parishes, provided no one else had been put in their place. Some few took advantage of it; but the greater number would not, and looked on their indulged brethren as nearly as bad as the prelatists. But this semblance of yielding was more than balanced by new exactions. Intercommuning—that is, having anything to do with any persons who had in any way broken any of the many laws against conventicles—was denounced as a criminal offense. Lauderdale, who succeeded Middleton as Commissioner in 1669, brought an army of Celts down on the Lowlands, which they pillaged at pleasure, carrying back rich spoils to their native mountains.

Sharp, the Primate, who was looked on as the originator of all the persecutions, was bitterly hated. In May, 1679, as he was driving near St. Andrews, he fell into the hands of a party of men who were lying in wait there for one Carmichael, the sheriff-sub-

stitute, a wretch who had made himself especially hated. When they heard that the archbishop's coach was coming that way, they looked on it as a special act of Providence by which the Lord delivered him into their hands. They fired into the coach, but did not hit him. He sheltered himself behind his daughter, but they dragged him out, and hacked him to death on the heath in a very barbarous way. Every effort was made to track the murderers, but they escaped to the West.

The straitest sect of the Covenanters now put forth a protest called the Sanquhar Declaration. Their leaders were Donald Cargill and Richard Cameron, after whom they were called Cameronians. Their openly avowed intention was to free the country from the tyranny under which it was groaning. They held that Charles had by his perjury forfeited the crown. They excommunicated both him and his brother, James, Duke of York, who was the Commissioner, and surpassed both Middleton and Lauderdale in cruelty. To kill either the king or his brother, or both of them, the Sanquhar men declared would be perfectly justifiable. They joined themselves together by one of the old bonds for mutual defense and support, and sought a refuge from the troopers who were out after them in Airds Moss, in Ayrshire. There they were attacked, and, though they fought bravely, were overcome by the soldiers.

In the hill-country between Lanark and Ayr was the favorite haunt of the Covenanters. Here they held great conventicles, to which the men came armed. At a meeting at Drumclog they were attacked by a body of dragoons under John Graham, of Claverhouse, but defeated them, and, wild with joy, thought that they saw the special hand of Providence in this success. They gathered in great numbers, and marched on Glasgow, but did no harm to either the city or the citizens.

To put down this revolt, Charles sent his illegitimate son, James, Duke of Buccleuch and Monmouth, with an army of 15,000 men. The zeal of the Covenanters was great, but their resources were few, and their leaders unskillful. It was therefore an easy matter for a well-trained army to defeat them, and at the Bridge over the Clyde at Bothwell they were beaten with great slaughter. Twelve hundred fell into the hands of the victors. Seven of these were put to death, some were released on giving sureties for their future good conduct, and the rest were shipped off to the plantations. Cameron fell in this fray.

While the Duke of York was Commissioner an act was passed to the effect that all persons taking office, whether under government or from the Corporation of Burghs, should take the test, an oath for the maintenance of the Protestant faith as it had been established in the first Parliament of James VI. At the same time the king was declared supreme in church and state, and the hereditary succession was declared to be unchangeable. Now, as it was well known that James, the king's brother and the heir to the throne, was a Catholic, it was clear that the test gave no security to the Protestant faith, if James, when king, could make what changes he pleased in the church.

Archibald, Earl of Argyle, who had been restored to his father's earldom, was the most powerful chief in the kingdom. His father had lost his life for his attachment to the Covenant, but he himself had hitherto upheld the government, and had even offered to bring his Highlanders to its support. Now, however, he showed signs of opposition, for he would only take the test with the protest that he did so only in so far as it was consistent with itself and with the safety of the Protestant faith. For this reservation he was accused of leasing-making, that is, of making mischief between the king and his people. This offense had, by a most unjust law passed in the reign of James VI., been made treason. By this law Argyle was condemned to death. He escaped and fled to Holland, where he became the center of a party of his fellow-countrymen who had also left their country because of their political opinions. After this unjust attack on Argyle no one could be sure of his liberty, and plans were made for emigration to Carolina. This aroused suspicion and through it Baillie of Jerviswood, a man much beloved and respected, was tried on an accusation of conspiracy, was found guilty, and put to death. His death greatly increased the popular discontent.

The death of Charles and the accession of James VII. rather made matters worse than better for the people. Another defiance from the Cameronians, called the Apologetical Declaration, was met by an act which gave the soldiers power at once to put to death anyone who would not take the Abjuration Oath; that is, swear that they abhorred and renounced this treasonable declaration. A time of cruel slaughter followed, in which Claverhouse was the chief persecutor. Many heartrending tales are told of the sufferings of the poor creatures whose fanaticism led them to persist in

refusing to take this oath. Early in James's reign an act was passed by which attending a Conventicle became a capital crime.

When Charles died his natural son Monmouth was in Holland. A plot was formed for placing him on the throne in place of his uncle James, who was hated, while Monmouth was very popular. A rising was to have taken place at the same time in both kingdoms. Argyle was to take the lead in Scotland, but he was subject to the interference of a committee chosen from among the others. The government was informed of this intended outbreak, and all the clans that were known to be hostile to Argyle were roused against him. Early in May he landed in Kintyre, and sent out the fiery cross to summon his clansmen, who mustered to the number of 1800. Unfortunately he took the advice of the committee to march into the Lowlands, but there was no uprising. His arms and ammunition were taken, and his men, who were starving, deserted and dispersed. Argyle himself was taken and executed with great indignities, under the old sentence for leasing-making. After his death the vengeance of the government fell on his clansmen.

Up to this time the Council had blindly followed in the lead of the king. They would now do so no longer, as they feared that he meant to restore the Roman Catholic faith. A Catholic was made Commissioner and James next tried to get a bill passed by which all the penalties against the Roman Catholics should be abolished, while those against the Covenanters should remain in force. To this bill even the bishops objected, and James saw that there was nothing for it but to treat all sects alike. He published several indulgences, but it was only the last, in 1688, that was full and complete. It extended toleration to all, even to the Quakers, who had up to this time been as much despised and persecuted as the Covenanters.

This change of policy on the part of the king had come too late. His attack on the liberties of the church in England had been resisted by seven of her bishops; and before long his English subjects resolved to bear his tyranny no longer. They invited his nephew and son-in-law, William, Prince of Orange, to come to their aid. He came, and was by common consent invited to mount the throne abdicated by James. When the news of William's entry into London reached Edinburgh, a deputation, headed by Hamilton, was sent to him, to pray him to call a convention of the Es-

tates, and, till it met, to take the government of Scotland into his own hands, January 7, 1689.

When the convention met there was a large Whig majority. They passed a resolution that James by his misgovernment had forfeited the throne; they therefore deposed him, and offered the Crown to William and his wife Mary, the daughter of James, on the same terms as had been made in England. The convention then turned itself into a parliament, which went on to the end of the reign. The members went in procession to the Cross of Edinburgh, where their vote was read. William and Mary were then proclaimed; and the ministers of parishes were ordered to pray publicly for the king and queen, on pain of being turned out of their livings. To the Claim of Right, which was much the same as the English one, a special clause was added, declaring prelacy to be an intolerable burden which had long been hateful to the people, and which ought to be swept away. Three commissioners were sent with the Instrument of Government to London. Argyle administered the coronation oath; but William, while taking it, declared that he would not become a persecutor in support of any sect.

The fall of James was followed by the fall of the Episcopal Church, which had made itself hateful to the greater number of the people. They took the law into their own hands, and on Christmas Day, 1688, a general attack was made on the curates or parish priests in the western lowlands. About two hundred curates with their families were at once driven out of their houses with every sort of insult and abuse. William did not approve of these excesses, but he had no means of putting a stop to them, for there was no regiment north of the Tweed. He put forth a proclamation ordering all persons to lay down their arms, but it was little heeded. The rabbling and turning out went on much as before. If the bishops would have taken the oaths, William would most likely have protected them; but they remained true to their old master, and shared his fall. For a time all was disorder. In some parishes the curates went on ministering as heretofore, while in others the Presbyterian divines held services in tents, or illegally occupied the pulpits. It was not till June, 1690, that the Presbyterian Church was reëstablished by law. Sixty of the ministers who had been turned out at the Restoration were still living, and to them was given authority to visit all the parishes, and to turn out all those

curates whom they thought wanting in abilities, scandalous in morals, or unsound in faith. Those livings from which the curates had been rabbled and driven away were declared vacant. This way of dealing with the church gave offense both to the Episcopalians and to the extreme Presbyterians, who did not approve of the interference of the king in church matters. Both these parties continued to look on William and Mary as usurpers.

When the Convention first met, each party, Whigs and Jacobites alike, had dreaded an outbreak on the part of the other. In the cellars of the city were hidden large numbers of Covenanters, who had been brought up from the West to overawe the Jacobites, while the Duke of Gordon held the castle for James, and he could, if he had so chosen, have turned the guns upon the city. But the Jacobites, finding themselves in the minority, determined to leave Edinburgh, and to hold a rival Convention at Stirling. But this plan was so ill concerted that Claverhouse, now Viscount Dundee, left hastily before the others were ready; an alarm was given, and they were all secured; but, an order being sent out for his arrest, he summoned the clans for King James. Many of them joined him, more from hatred of Argyle than from love for James. Dundee with no regular troops showed what good soldiers the Celts can make with a good leader. Each clan in such an army formed a regiment bound together by a tie of common brotherhood, and all bound to live or die for the colonel their chief; and so long as the clans could be kept from quarreling all went well. Dundee wrote to James, who was now in Ireland, for help; but he sent only 300 miserably equipped foot, under an officer named Canon. The hopes of the Whigs were not entirely fulfilled, for Argyle was held back because his country had been lately wasted; and the Covenanters had doubts about fighting for a king who had not signed the Covenant. However, some of them thought otherwise, and a regiment was raised called the Cameronians.

The war now broke out again. It was the great aim of each party to win over the adherents of the Marquis of Athole. The marquis himself, to keep out of harm's way, had gone to England, and of those whom he had left to act for him some were for James, others for the king and queen. It was of importance to both sides to secure the castle of Blair, which belonged to Athole, and near there the two armies met, at Killiecrankie, a pass leading into the Highlands. Here the Celts won a brilliant and decided victory.

The clansmen charged sword in hand down the pass with such fury that they swept their foes before them, July 27, 1689. But this success had been dearly bought by the death of Dundee. Thus left without a leader, the victors thought more of plunder than pursuit; nor was there anyone among them fitted to fill Dundee's place, and to follow up the advantage he had won. Recruits came in, their numbers increased, but this only made the disorder greater.

A month later they attacked the Cameronian regiment stationed at Dunkeld, but after a preliminary success were driven back, and blaming each other, they dispersed. In the spring of the next year the clans gathered again, under an officer named Buchan, who came from James with a commission to act as his commander-in-chief in Scotland. But they were surprised and scattered in the strath of the Spey. This action ended the Civil War in Scotland, for Gordon had long since given up Edinburgh Castle. To keep the western clans in order, General Mackay built a fort in the west of Invernesshire, which was called Fort William, in honor of the king.

Still the chiefs did not take the oaths to William, and were clearly only waiting for the appearance of a new leader to break out again. To win them over to the government a large sum of money was put into the hands of John Campbell, Earl of Breadalbane. He was accused of cheating both the clans and the king by keeping a part of this sum himself, and he never gave any clear account of what he had done with it. At the same time a proclamation was put forth which offered pardon to all the rebels who should take the oaths to William and Mary before or on December 31, 1691. All who did not take advantage of this offer were after that day to be dealt with as enemies and traitors, and warlike preparations were made for carrying out the threat.

By the day named the clans had all come in, except MacIan, chief of a tribe of MacDonalds, who lived in Glencoe, a wild mountain valley in the northwestern corner of Argyleshire. On the last day, December 31, MacIan and his principal clansmen went to Fort William to take the oaths, but found that there was no one there who had authority to administer them. There was no magistrate nearer than Inverary, and, as the ground was deeply covered with snow, it was some days before MacIan got there. But the sheriff, in consideration of his good-will and of the delay that he had met with, administered the oaths, January 6, and sent an account of

the whole affair to the Privy Council at Edinburgh. Unfortunately for Glencoe, Breadalbane was his bitter personal enemy, and along with Sir John Dalrymple, the Master of Stair, he determined on his destruction. An order for the extirpation of the whole tribe was drawn up and presented to William, who signed it, and it was carried out with cold-blooded treachery. A party of soldiers, under the command of Campbell of Glenlyon, appeared in the Glen. They gave out that they came as friends, and as such they were kindly welcomed, and shared the hospitality of the MacDonalds for a fortnight. Without any warning they turned on their hosts, and before dawn of a winter's morning slew nearly all the dwellers in the valley, old and young together, February 13, 1692. They then burned the houses and drove off the cattle, so that nothing was left for the few wretched beings who had escaped death but to perish miserably of cold and hunger. Whether William knew the whole state of the case or not when he signed the warrant is not certain, but he did not punish those who had dared to commit this wholesale murder in his name. And though four years after, when a stir was made about it, he did grant a commission to the Privy Council to inquire into the matter, he did not bring to judgment the Master of Stair, who was very clearly pointed out as the guilty person.

Just at this time the public attention was taken up with a scheme for founding a new colony on the Isthmus of Darien, and people's minds were so full of it that nothing else was thought of. It was got up by William Paterson, who is to be remembered as the originator of the Bank of England. He fancied that he had found, what Columbus and the other navigators of his day had sought in vain, a short cut to the Indies. His plan was to plant a colony on the isthmus which unites North and South America, and to make it the route by which the merchandise of the East should be brought to Europe, thereby shortening the long sea-voyage. He drew glowing pictures of the untold wealth that would thus fall to the lot of those who were clear-sighted enough to join in the venture. A charter was granted to the new company, which gave them a monopoly of the trade with Asia, Africa, and America for a term of thirty-one years, with leave to import all goods duty free, except foreign sugar and tobacco. Never had project been so popular. Everyone was anxious to take shares. Half the capital of Scotland was invested in it, and poor and rich alike, deceived by Paterson's

lying stories of the healthfulness and fertility of the soil and climate, were eager to hasten to the new colony. A few vessels were bought at Hamburg and Amsterdam. In these twelve hundred emigrants set sail on July 25, 1698, and arrived safely on the shore of the Gulf of Darien. They named the settlement which they founded there New Caledonia, and built a town and a fort, to which they gave the names of New Edinburgh and St. Andrews. But to set up such a trading market with any hopes of success they ought to have had the good-will and help of the great trading countries of Europe. Instead of this, England and Holland were much opposed to the scheme, as being an interference with their trading rights. The East India Company looked on the bringing in of Eastern merchandise to Scotland as an infringement of their privileges. Spain, too, claimed the isthmus as her own, and seized one of the Scottish ships; while the governors of the English colonies in North America refused to let them have supplies. In addition to these difficulties from without, the climate was wretchedly unhealthful. Disease quickly thinned their ranks, till at last the miserable remnant whom it spared were glad to flee from almost certain death. They deserted the new settlement, and set sail for New York. Meanwhile such glowing reports of the success of the venture had been spread abroad at home that a second body of thirteen hundred emigrants, ignorant of the fate of those who had gone before them, set sail in August of the next year. They found the colony deserted and the colonists gone. They themselves fared no better than the first settlers, and were in a few months driven out by the Spaniards. The Scottish people were deeply mortified and much enraged by the failure of this scheme. They blamed William for all the disasters of the colonists, because he had done nothing to help them, nor to prevent the interference of Spain. The charter had been granted by the government of Scotland without the king's knowledge when he was in Holland; and though he could not recall it, it would have been unjust to his English subjects to show any favor to a scheme which, had it succeeded, might have proved the ruin of their East Indian trade. So much bad feeling arose out of this unfortunate affair between the two nations that it was plain that if there was not a closer union between them there would be a breach before long.

Just as the project of a union was about to be considered in the English Parliament, William died, March 8, 1702. Since the

death of Mary, in 1694, he had reigned alone. Both crowns now passed to Anne, the younger daughter of James VII.

It was in William's reign that the system of national education which has made the Scots, as a people, so intelligent and well-informed, was recast. An act was passed, in 1696, by which every parish was required to provide a suitable schoolhouse, and to pay a properly qualified schoolmaster for the instruction of the children of the parish.

James VII. had died in France a few months before his nephew, and his son had been proclaimed there as James VIII. This made the Whigs anxious to have an act passed in Scotland similar to the English Act of Settlement. By this act the Parliament of England had settled that if Anne died without heirs the Crown should pass to the nearest Protestant heir, Sophia, Electress of Hanover, granddaughter of James VI., or to her descendants. But the Estates still felt injured and angry about the late differences with England, and passed an Act of Security, which made express conditions that the same person should not succeed to the throne of both kingdoms, unless, during Queen Anne's reign, measures had been taken for securing the honor and independence of the Scottish nation against English influence. The right of declaring war against England at any time was to remain with the Scottish Parliament. About this time the unfortunate judicial murder of an English sea-captain by a Scottish court gave the English reasonable cause for complaint.

It was clear that if the two kingdoms were to go on together in peace, it could only be by joining their parliaments and their commercial interests into one. Commissioners from both sides were appointed to consider the best way of effecting this union. Godolphin, the Treasurer of England, and the Duke of Queensberry, the Royal Commissioner in Scotland, were its chief promoters. The commissioners drew up a Treaty of Union, which was approved by the parliaments of both countries. By the Articles of Union the succession to both Crowns was settled on the Protestant heirs of Sophia; and each country was secured in the possession of her national church as then established. Scotland was to send sixteen representative peers, elected from the whole body of peers, and forty-five members from the commons, to the Parliament at Westminster, henceforth to be called the Parliament of Great Britain. It was further settled that one seal, with the arms of both kingdoms

quartered upon it, should serve for both countries, that both should be subject to the same excise duties and customs and should have the same privileges of trade. The same coins, weights, and measures were to be used throughout the island. The law-courts of Scotland, the Court of Justiciary and the Court of Session, were to remain unchanged, only there was now a right of appeal from the Court of Session, which had hitherto been supreme in all civil cases, to the House of Lords. In addition to the twenty-five Articles of Union, a special act was passed for securing the liberty of the Church of Scotland as it then stood in all time coming, and declaring that the Presbyterian should be the only church government in Scotland. The first Parliament of Great Britain met October 23, 1707.

Twice before this time the legislature of the two kingdoms had been thus joined together into one, under Edward I. and under Cromwell. But these two unions, each the result of conquest, had lasted but a little while. This Union was destined to be more enduring, and to lead to increased prosperity in both kingdoms. For Scotland it was the beginning of quite a new state of things. Hitherto the struggle for national life had left her no leisure for internal development, and at the time of the Union she was without manufactures, shipping, or commerce. With the end of her independent nationality a new social life began, and a spirit of industry and enterprise was awakened, which has since raised her people to their present eminence in trade, manufacture, and agriculture. The Union struck the last blow at the power of the Scottish nobles. They were not placed by any means on the same level with the peers of the sister kingdom. It brought to the commons, who during this period had been much despised and oppressed, an increase in dignity and independence, by admitting them to a share in the liberty and privileges which the commons of England had won for themselves with the sword. But what did even more for the prosperity of Scotland was the removal of all restrictions on her trade, which was now placed on the same footing as that of the larger kingdom. For half a century after the union of the Crowns she had enjoyed free trade with England and her colonies; but that was brought to an end by the Navigation Act, passed soon after the Restoration, which forbade the importing of any foreign goods into England except in English vessels, and which was, as the Scots justly complained, the ruin of their rising commerce.

Between the union of the Crowns and the union of the parliaments there was but little advance in literature or art. This was in great part owing to the fact that, just when all other nations had taken to writing in their own tongues in place of Latin, the Scottish Court migrated to London. There the Northumbrian English, which was the common speech of the Lowlands of Scotland, was despised as a provincial dialect, in which no educated man would write if he wished his writings to be read. During this period the talent that was to be found in the country was enlisted in the religious struggle, which occupied all men's minds, and it produced many divines eminent for eloquence and learning. The literature of the times was, like the fighting, the tyranny, and the persecutions, chiefly of a religious character. There were many men of learning and talent, renowned either for their writings or from their eloquence, to be found among the leaders of the different sects. Among the Presbyterians the most eminent were John Welch, the son-in-law of Knox; Alexander Henderson; Guthrie, the martyr of the Remonstrants, and George Gillespie, who, from his gift for argument, was called the "Hammer of the Malignants." The Episcopal Church could boast of some scholarly divines, such as John and Patrick Forbes, and Leighton, Archbishop of Glasgow. Of poets there were but few, none who could bear comparison with those of an earlier time. Many of the beautiful ballads and songs of which Scotland may justly be proud must have been composed about this time, but the authors are unknown. Unknown also, or forgotten, are the musicians to whom Scotland owes the wild, sweet strains to which those songs were sung, those pathetic melodies which make the national music so peculiar and characteristic in its exquisite beauty. But the spirit of the Covenant was opposed to art. Though it inspired to heroic deeds, there were no songs made about them. Architecture fared even worse than poetry, for while churches, the work of former ages, were pulled down, any new ones that were put up were as ugly and tasteless as it was possible to make them. Napier of Merchiston, a zealous reformer, the writer of an "Explanation of the Apocalypse," is known in the world of science as the inventor of logarithms, a clever and easy way of shortening difficult numerical calculations.

The union of the Crowns of England and Scotland put a stop to the constant skirmishing on the border and to the devastating inroads which had for centuries embittered the two countries

against one another. It might therefore have been expected that Scotland, during the century which passed between the union of the Crowns and the union of the parliaments, would have made great social advances. This was prevented by the ceaseless party strife which disgraced the century, and made this period one of the most disastrous and oppressive to the people in the whole history of the nation. James VI. had found the strict discipline and constant interference of the ministers so irksome, and the turbulent independence of his nobles so little to his mind, that he was delighted to escape from both to the richer kingdom to which his good fortune called him. The severe training of his childhood had made him hate the Presbyterian polity with all his heart. As soon as he had the power, he changed the government of the church, and introduced various observances which were hateful to the people. His son Charles went a step further, and by his attempt to substitute an English for a Scottish Liturgy drove the people to revolt. The war thus begun, by an effort to force on the hereditary kingdom of his race the customs of the larger kingdom which his father had acquired, ended in his losing both. Scotland enjoyed a short gleam of prosperity from the conquest of Cromwell till his death. Under the next Stuart, Charles II., the king to whom she had always been loyal, the government was intrusted to a council, which exercised a cold-blooded tyranny against which the people had no redress. This reign of terror only rooted their religious prejudices the more firmly in their minds. When the tyrant James was deposed, the reaction of popular feeling fell heavily on the clergy of the established church, who individually were in no way accountable for the crimes which had been committed under the mask of zeal for episcopacy. Under William the Presbyterian polity was reestablished, and the Episcopal clergy had in their turn to suffer many hardships from severe laws and the intolerance of party feeling, though nothing to compare with the bloody persecution under the form of law which had disgraced the reigns of Charles and James.

Chapter VIII

DISCONTENT WITH THE UNION. 1707-1846

THOUGH the Union was such a good thing for Scotland, the people were a long time in finding this out. The old national jealousy was roused; they thought that their dearly loved independence was being sacrificed. There were riots in different places; and though the people were quieted by the assurance that the insignia of royalty, the regalia or Crown jewels, should not be carried out of the kingdom, for long afterward the Union was very unpopular and had to bear the blame of everything that went wrong. There was still, too, a large party, chiefly in the Highlands, attached to James Stuart, known as the Chevalier de St. George, or the Old Pretender, as the Whigs called him. Jacobitism, which was in England a mere empty word used to express any sort of discontent with the existing state of things, meant something more in Scotland. There it was the traditionary feeling of loyalty and love toward the ancient line of kings; and for James, their representative, there were many who were ready to venture their lands, or their life if need were. As long as Anne lived there was no excuse for an outbreak, for she, too, was a Stuart, and it was hoped that her brother might succeed her.

When Anne died, the son of Sophia, George, Elector of Hanover, succeeded without opposition, according to the Act of Settlement. Before long he and his German favorites became very unpopular. This gave the Jacobites hopes that if they raised the standard for James, all the discontented in both kingdoms would join them in an attempt to restore him to the throne of his fathers.

To give to such an attempt the least chance of success three conditions were necessary. Firstly, that the rising should take place at the same time in both kingdoms; secondly, that it should be helped by France; and thirdly, that the prince for whom it was made should come among his people and lead them in person. All three were wanting in this unfortunate rebellion. James made no personal effort to get the Crown on the death of his sister, though six weeks passed before George came over from Hanover. During

this interval James issued a manifesto from Plombières, August 29, 1714. In this manifesto he asserted his right to the Crown, and explained that he had remained quiet while his sister lived, because he had no doubt of her good intentions toward him. A year, however, was allowed to pass before any active steps were taken. Just when the plans for the rising were all made, Louis XIV. of France, who was the best friend the Chevalier had, died, and was succeeded by the next heir, his great-grandson, an infant. The Duke of Orleans, who became regent, was disposed to be friendly to the

Government of England; indeed his regency was one of the few times when there was any real friendliness between the two countries. By his order some ships lying at Havre, which had been fitted out for James, were unloaded, and the arms stored in the royal magazines. These ships were intended for the succor of the rebels in Scotland, where the standard was raised for James by John Erskine, Earl of Mar, at the junction of the Cluny and the Dee, September 6, 1715. Mar had begun life as a Whig, but had changed sides so often that he was nicknamed "Bobbing John." He had addressed a loyal letter to King George on his accession, but as, by the change of ministry, he lost his office of Secretary of

State for Scotland and saw no hope of getting it back again, he became an ardent Jacobite, and the leader of the party in Scotland. Before his coming North he sent letters to the principal Jacobites, inviting them to a hunting-match. This meeting was attended by the Marquises of Huntly and Tullibardine, the eldest sons of the Dukes of Gordon and Athole, by Glengarry, the chief of the Mac-Donalds, and many others. They all swore to be true to one another, and to Mar, as James's general, and then returned to their several districts to raise their followers. Only sixty men gathered at the raising of the standard, but before the end of the month the northern clans had risen. James was proclaimed at Aberdeen, Brechin, and Dundee, and nearly all the country north of the Tay was soon in the hands of the rebels. They laid a plan for seizing Edinburgh Castle, but this was found out and defeated.

There were at this time not more than between 8000 and 9000 troops in the whole island. Of these, not more than 1500 were in Scotland; and no more were sent there, for an expected rising in the southwestern counties of England was then thought much more dangerous than the rising in the North. In Scotland the chief command was given to the Duke of Argyle, whose family were deadly enemies of the Stuarts, and whose almost princely power over a large tract of country made him the most likely person to counteract their influence. The Earl of Sutherland, who was also a friend of the government, was sent to raise his followers in the North. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended by act of Parliament, a reward of 100,000*l.* was offered for seizing the Pretender, dead or alive, and the king was empowered to seize all suspected persons. A great number of suspected persons were summoned to Edinburgh to give security for their good conduct, but none of them came; indeed some were by this summons induced to take arms for James. Several noted Jacobites were put in ward in Edinburgh Castle.

The active measures taken by the government had put down the intended rising in the West of England, but in the North they had only hurried it on. An order was sent down for the arrest of Forster, member for Northumberland, and James Radcliffe, Earl of Derwentwater, whereupon Forster and Derwentwater took up arms at once. About the same time Lord Kenmure proclaimed James, and was joined by three earls and other persons of note. He joined his force with that of Forster, and they marched to Kelso, to wait there for the arrival of a detachment from Mar's army.

The combined force, about 2000 strong, marched along the border. After much debate and hesitation, their leaders at last decided to enter Lancashire, where they expected the Roman Catholic gentry to rise and join them. The *posse comitatus,* or general muster, fled before them at Penrith. After this success the rebels marched on, proclaiming James as they went and levying money. On November 9 they reached Preston, where they were joined by an ill-armed, undisciplined rabble of recruits. But on the appearance of the king's troops Forster made no effort to defend the town. He was seized with a panic, and surrendered with his followers, to the number of 1400, November 12.

Meanwhile Mar was managing the affairs of James almost as badly in Scotland. He entered Perth, September 28, with a force of 5000. On October 2 a detachment of eighty horse captured a vessel with three hundred stand of arms. The vessel had been driven by stress of weather to seek shelter. Instead of pushing on while his followers were inspirited by this success, Mar stayed at Perth doing nothing. The Duke of Argyle, who was sent to oppose him, arrived in Scotland in the middle of September. He had then only 1500 men at his command, but before Mar made any attempt to engage him his army had been more than doubled by reinforcements from Ireland. It was not till November 10 that Mar left Perth. On Sunday, the 13th, the two armies advanced to meet each other, and a battle was fought at Sheriffmuir. The result was doubtful. Each army defeated and put to flight the left wing of the other and then drew off the field, and both lost about the same number of men. Each side claimed the victory, but Argyle took possession of the field the next day. After the battle Argyle went back to Stirling and Mar to Perth. There the clans began to desert him, going home as usual with their plunder, while Argyle's force was increased by 6000 Dutch troops.

James at last made his appearance, but not till his followers had been taken prisoners in the one country and had lost their spirit in the other. He landed at Peterhead, December 22, attended by only six persons. He was met by Mar, and went on to Scone, whence he issued six proclamations, and fixed his coronation for January 23. The news of his landing had somewhat revived the spirit of his followers, but when they met both parties were disappointed; James with their scanty numbers, and they with his heaviness and stupidity. Soon after a vessel coming from France with

gold for the rebels was stranded and the money lost. At last Argyle began to advance against James, who retreated from Perth, greatly to the disgust of the clans. From Perth they went to Dundee, and from there to Montrose. Twelve hours after they had left Perth Argyle entered it, but he was so slack in his pursuit of the rebels as to give rise to suspicions of his own loyalty. A few days later, February 4, James set sail secretly for France with Mar and several other nobles. He left a letter for Argyle, and all the money he had with him for the benefit of the poor people in the villages round Perth, which had been burned by his order. His men, grieved and disappointed to find that their leader had deserted them, went back to their native glens. Most of the officers escaped to the Orkneys, and thence to the Continent.

Few prisoners had been made in Scotland. Of those taken at Preston, the half-pay officers were at once shot as deserters, the common soldiers were imprisoned in Chester and Liverpool, while their leaders were taken up to London, which they entered with their hands tied behind them and their horses led. Six nobles were arraigned before the House of Lords on a charge of treason. All except one pleaded guilty and threw themselves on the king's grace; but they were all condemned to death. This sentence was executed on Derwentwater only. Three were reprieved and two escaped. Of those lower in rank, twenty-two were hanged in Lancashire and four in London. An Act of Grace, passed in 1717, released all who were still in prison; but it did not restore the estates which they had forfeited by their treason. The following year another Jacobite conspiracy arose. In this both Spain and Sweden were concerned; Spain promised to help with money, while Charles XII. of Sweden was to invade Scotland with 12,000 soldiers. It was discovered, and prevented by the arrest of the persons suspected of sharing in it.

In 1713 it was proposed to extend the malt-tax which was paid in England, to Scotland. But this measure met with such strong opposition on the part of the Scottish members as almost to threaten a dissolution of the Union. At length, in 1724, a duty of threepence on every barrel of ale was laid on instead of the malt-tax. But though this time the members agreed to the new tax, the people would not, and a serious riot broke out at Glasgow. Two companies of foot were sent from Edinburgh to put down the tumult, under the command of Captain Bushell, who ordered his men to fire, whereby nine persons were killed and many more wounded. This

only made the rioters more furious, and Bushell narrowly escaped from them. The tumult was not put down till General Wade brought up a force large enough to overawe the mob, and sent the magistrates prisoners to Edinburgh. There they were tried and acquitted. To avoid paying the tax, the brewers of Edinburgh made a compact to brew no more beer if the duty were not taken off. In consequence of these disorders the office of Secretary of State for Scotland was abolished, because the Duke of Roxburgh, who held it, was suspected of encouraging the discontent. At length the Earl of Islay was sent down to Edinburgh, and succeeded in restoring quietness. Bushell was tried for murder and found guilty, but was afterward pardoned and promoted.

Twelve years later the peace was again broken by a tumult at Edinburgh. One Wilson, a smuggler, lying under sentence of death for having taken part in a fray in which a Custom-house officer was killed, had won the sympathy of the people by the clever way in which he had managed the escape of a fellow-prisoner. When he was hanged at the Grass Market the mob pelted the guard with stones. On this Porteous, captain of the City Guard, ordered his men to fire, and several innocent persons in the crowd were killed and wounded. Porteous was tried, and condemned to death as a murderer, but a reprieve was sent down from London. Then the people took the law into their own hands. On the evening before the day which had been fixed for the execution of the sentence, while Porteous was feasting, they gathered, disarmed the City Guard, broke into the prison and took Porteous out and hanged him. Then they dispersed, without noise or further violence, and the ringleaders were never discovered. The government brought in a bill for disgracing the city by the loss of the charter and the razing of the gates. But this measure was not carried, and the only penalties inflicted were that Wilson, the Provost, was declared incapable of holding office in future, and that the city was fined 2000*l.* for the benefit of Porteous' widow.

In 1719 there was a small attempt made to get up another Jacobite rising, favored by Spain, with which country England was then at war. The Marquis of Tullibardine landed with a body of 300 Spanish soldiers. But the stores and arms which were to have been sent to him were lost on the way, and, though about 2000 Highlanders mustered, they were defeated at Glenshiel by the regular troops. The Highlanders fled to the hills, while the Spaniards

surrendered, and thus the attempt came to nothing. But the clans were still unsubdued, and were ready to break out again at any time. General Wade, who had been commander-in-chief since 1715, made excellent roads in many places where there had been none before, and an act was passed for disarming the Highlanders. But this did more harm than good. The clans that were faithful to the government gave up their arms; but this only made them unable to resist the rebels, who kept theirs hidden and ready for use when occasion should come. England was now engaged in a continental war; most of the troops were out of the kingdom, and the time seemed favorable for another effort. France, too, promised help. Early in 1744 an army of 1500 men under the command of Marshal Saxe, one of the most skillful generals in the French service, was collected at Dunkirk, and embarked in French transports for the invasion of England. But the fleet was dispersed by a storm, and the French were unwilling to give any further help. The next year Charles Edward, son of the Old Pretender, called the Young Chevalier, who was to have led this expedition, determined to make a venture on his own account. Without money, without arms, with only seven followers, he landed on the west coast of Inverness, and called on the Jacobite clans to muster and follow him, July 25, 1745. In vain their chiefs, headed by Cameron of Lochiel, pointed out to him the rash folly of such an enterprise. He persisted, and they, letting loyalty get the better of common sense, took up the cause and summoned their clansmen. The standard of James was raised at Glenfillan, August 19, and the commission, naming Charles regent in his stead, was read to about a hundred motley but enthusiastic followers. Already a small band of them had had a foretaste of victory. On their way to the muster they had compelled two companies of regular troops to lay down their arms. This was followed by a series of successes as unlooked for as they were extraordinary. Sir John Cope was sent to oppose the rebels with all the troops that the government could raise. But he mismanaged matters, and let the Highland army, which was gathering on its way, pass him. While he went northward it came down unopposed upon the Lowlands, entered Perth, and advanced toward Edinburgh, where James was proclaimed.

The citizens were in the greatest alarm when they heard that the Highlanders had crossed the Forth. A small band of volunteers and a regiment of dragoons fled at the first shots. Charles sum-

moned the city to surrender; the perplexed magistrates, not knowing what to do, tried to win time by sending repeated messages to Charles. But early the following morning a body of 500 Camerons under Lochiel surprised and entered one of the city gates, opened the other gates, and thus the city was in the hands of the rebels. At noon of the same day the heralds and pursuivants were obliged to proclaim James at the Cross as King James VIII., and to read his Royal Declaration and the Commission of Regency. Charles entered the city the same day, September 17, and took up his quarters in the Palace of Holyrood. That night all the Jacobites in the city gathered at a ball to celebrate his arrival.

Meanwhile Cope had brought back his troops by sea and landed them at Dunbar. Charles marched out from Edinburgh to meet him. At a village near Preston Pans, so-called from the pans used there for crystallizing the sea-salt, the Highlanders defeated the regular troops, and came back triumphant to Edinburgh with the money and the cannon which they had taken, September 20. Charles lingered at Edinburgh till November 1, when he began his march toward England at the head of an army of 5000 to 6000 men. Carlisle surrendered to Charles, who marched on unresisted as far as Derby, which he reached on December 4. Charles was now two days' march nearer London than the army under William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, son of George II., which had been sent to oppose him. A panic prevailed in London, where the citizens expected hourly to see the wild Highlanders enter and spoil the city. Their fears were, however, unfounded. Jealousies and discord were rife among the rebel chiefs. At Derby, Charles held a council of war. Some of his officers advised one thing, some another. But as they would not agree to march on to London without delay, Charles, sorely against his will, was obliged to give the order for retreat, and to lead his dispirited followers back again as quickly as they had come. Cumberland followed close on their rear.

When Charles reached Stirling his army was joined by reinforcements which raised its number to 8000 or 9000. He prepared to lay siege to the castle. The relieving force was shamefully defeated, but Charles did not follow up his advantage by pursuing the royal army. The next day he went on with the siege of Stirling. The Duke of Cumberland was now sent North, with full power to put down the rebellion as he pleased. He reached Edinburgh Jan-

uary 30, and the very next day set out at the head of an army in quest of the rebels. Charles raised the siege of Stirling and hurried North. He entered Inverness, and took Forts George and Augustus, where he found supplies of food, guns, and powder, of which his army stood in great need.

Meanwhile the king's troops were closing round the rebels, who, cooped up in the barren mountains, were reduced to the greatest straits. All supplies sent from France were cut off before they reached them, and for several days they had no food but a little raw oatmeal. It was plain that the battle that was unavoidable must be a defeat. Culloden Moor was the scene of this, the last battle fought on British ground. The rebels, who were nearly starving, and who had been worn out by a long march and an attempted night-attack that had altogether failed, soon gave way, and were easily routed by the duke's well-disciplined and nearly twice as numerous army, April 16, 1746. The French auxiliaries fled toward Inverness, where they laid down their arms. The rebels lost 1000 men, a fifth of their whole number; the victors only 310. About 1200 of the fugitives rallied once more, but Charles begged them to disperse, and every man sought his own safety as he best might. The after measures of the victors were disgraceful to all concerned. No quarter was given; the wounded were slaughtered in cold blood, or burned in the houses to which they had crawled for shelter. For three months martial law prevailed; the country was wasted, the houses burned, the cattle lifted, the people left to perish. It was not till July that the duke, who in Scotland was called "the Butcher," went back to London, where he was hailed as the deliverer of his country, and rewarded with a pension of 25,000*l.* a year.

Charles, whose foolhardy ambition had brought all this misery on his simple followers, passed five months in perilous wanderings. A great price was set on his head, but, poor as the Highlanders were, not one of them would stoop to win it by betraying him. At one time, when he was tracked by the soldiers, he was saved by a young lady called Flora MacDonald, who got a passport for him under the name of Betty Burke, her maid. In this disguise he escaped to Skye. After this he came back to the mainland, and lived for some time with seven robbers in a cave. They kept him hidden and supplied his wants as well as they could, and used to go in disguise to the nearest town to pick up what news they could. When he left them Charles joined two of his adherents, and he and

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they stayed in a strange hiding-place called the Cage on the side of Ben-alder, till two French vessels appeared on the coast. In one of these he embarked, September 20. Thus Charles escaped to the Continent, but his memory was long cherished in the country that had suffered so much for him. He was compelled to leave France after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and ended an unsettled, discontented, dissipated life at Rome in 1788. His brother Henry, called the Cardinal of York, the last of the Stuart line, survived him nearly twenty years.

There was much greater severity shown after this rebellion than there had been after that in 1715. The Scottish prisoners were brought for trial to England for fear that they might meet with too much partiality in their own country. John Murray, of Broughton, who had been Charles's secretary, turned informer. Through him the secrets of this conspiracy which had been going on ever since 1740 were brought to light. Charles Radcliffe, brother to the Earl of Derwentwater (beheaded in 1716), and who had escaped from prison, was retaken on board a French vessel carrying supplies to the rebels, and was put to death on his former sentence. The Earls of Cromarty and Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino were brought up for trial before the House of Lords, found guilty, and two were beheaded. Nearly a year after, Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, was brought up for trial; he was found guilty, chiefly on the evidence of Murray, was condemned, and beheaded. He had acted a double part throughout, for, though he had taken part in all the plans of the rebels, he had taken care not to join them in person. Of those lower in rank about eighty were condemned to death, and great numbers were sent to the plantations. The last sufferer for the Jacobite cause was Dr. Cameron, brother of Lochiel. He escaped after 1745, but when he returned to England in 1753 he was seized and suffered death as a traitor, though he protested that he had never borne arms against the king, and had been with the rebel force only as a surgeon and not as a soldier. An Act of Indemnity was at length passed, in 1747, from which, however, eighty persons were excepted. Though the end of this unjustifiable and unfortunate rebellion was what everyone must have foreseen, its temporary and unlooked-for success showed how necessary it was to take strong measures for breaking up the old Highland system. A bill was passed for disarming the clans, and to forbid the wearing of the Highland dress, and at the same time heritable jurisdictions were

abolished. The Episcopal Church, whose attachment to the Stuarts was well known, suffered severely. Their buildings were destroyed, and the ministrations of the clergy forbidden. Duncan Forbes, of Culloden, the president of the Court of Session, though a firm friend of the government, distinguished himself throughout the rebellion by his efforts in the cause of humanity and justice. Before it broke out he had done more than any other man to keep the rising down, and after it had been crushed, he did all in his power to lessen the sufferings of the rebels and the severity of the government. To the discredit of the ministry and of the country, his services were left unrewarded.

In 1756 the lawfulness of negro slavery was first questioned in Scotland, and twenty years later it was settled that negro slavery should exist no longer. There were still, however, some natives of the soil who were in a state very little better. The colliers and salters were sold like serfs with the works in which they toiled. This shameful servitude was not the remains of ancient villanage, but had simply arisen out of custom. So strong, however, had the force of custom made it, that Parliament did not venture at once to sweep it away. It was settled that all the colliers and salters born after a certain date should be free, and those then at work after a certain term of service. In 1799 their freedom was established by law.

When the penal laws against the Roman Catholics in England were repealed in 1778 Henry Dundas, the Lord Advocate, proposed a similar measure for Scotland. On the strength of this, riots broke out in Edinburgh and Glasgow. In Edinburgh the mob destroyed the Roman Catholic chapels and the houses of several persons who were suspected of being Catholics. In Glasgow they destroyed a factory belonging to a Catholic. So great was the excitement raised throughout the country by the fanatics, who bound themselves together in Protestant Associations, and the property and persons of the Roman Catholics were treated with such violence, that they themselves petitioned that the bill might be dropped. It was not till 1793 that a bill was brought in and passed without opposition to relieve the Roman Catholics in Scotland from the penalties to which they were liable on account of their religious opinions.

The excesses of the French Revolution led to a reaction of feeling in Great Britain against all liberal opinions, as being likely to

bring about a similar revolution in this country. This led to much injustice and oppression. Persons were charged with stirring up sedition on the slightest grounds, or on no grounds at all; were found guilty, and punished on the most scanty evidence. In Scotland the panic was even greater than in England, and the proceedings of justice more unjust. In 1793 Thomas Muir, an advocate, and Fyshe Palmer, a clergyman, were tried, and sentenced to transportation, the one for fourteen years, the other for seven, for no other crime than that of discussing parliamentary reform. Others suffered a like fate; and though these cases were brought before the House of Commons, and though the sympathy of the people was with them, they met with no redress.

It was not till nearly forty years had passed that the reforms, for suggesting which these men had suffered, and the need of which had long been felt, were at last carried out by the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832. By it the entire representation was remodeled. Up to this time the country franchise had depended not on the possession of land, but on the right of superiority over land which might be held by others. This right could be bought and sold, and was quite independent of property or residence in the county, so that in most cases there were but a handful of electors, in one county only one, to return the member. The franchise was now extended to all persons having property in the county to the value of 10*l.* yearly, and to certain classes of leaseholders. The case of the burghs was even worse. Only the royal burghs were represented at all, and these were grouped together and returned one member only for each group. This member was elected by delegates chosen from the town council of each burgh, so that the election was really and truly in the hands of the corporations. By the new bill, Edinburgh and Glasgow were each to send two members to parliament, the five towns next in importance were each to send one, while some changes were made in the grouping of the smaller burghs. The members for the burghs were to be elected by householders in the burghs paying 10*l.* yearly rent. The number of members was increased from forty-five to fifty-three.

When the Presbyterian polity was reëstablished by law in 1690 the Episcopalians took in some degree the place which had been held by the Covenanters. As they would not acknowledge William and Mary as lawful sovereigns, they were looked on as a dangerous and obstinate sect of dissenters, just as the Cameronians had been

considered in the reign of James. They had been turned out of the churches, but they were forbidden to have private meeting-houses. In Queen Anne's reign an Act of Toleration was passed to protect such of them as would use the English Liturgy and pray for the queen in the course of the service. After the Rebellion of 1715 new laws were passed against them; the validity of orders from Scottish bishops was called in question, and the ministration of all clergymen who were not licensed was forbidden. After the Rebellion of 1745 they fared still worse; many of their meeting-houses were burned or dismantled by Cumberland's soldiers. An act was passed forbidding any clergyman to read the service to more than five persons at once, and no letters of orders were considered valid unless given by some Irish or English bishop. In 1755 a clergyman named Connacher was accused of illegally celebrating marriages, and by an act passed against the Covenanters in the reign of Charles II., he was banished, and forbidden to return on pain of death. Hence it came to pass that, just after the two kingdoms were politically united, they were more widely severed in religious opinion than they had ever been before, so that a conscientious member of the church established by law in the one kingdom would have been looked on as a dangerous dissenter in the other. It was not till 1792 that an act was passed relieving the Episcopalians from the penal laws in force against them. In 1784 Dr. Samuel Seabury, from Connecticut, was consecrated by three Scottish bishops, Petrie, Skinner, and Kilgour the primus, at Aberdeen. Besides the Episcopalians there were many sects of Presbyterians who seceded from the Establishment chiefly on the question of patronage. At last, in 1843, the Church of Scotland split into two parties. This is called the Disruption.

This division was brought about by a dispute about the right of patrons to force ministers on parishes, whether the congregations objected to them or not. The spirit of the Presbyterian Church had always been opposed to patronage. By the First Book of Discipline it had been laid down that the people should elect their own ministers; by the Second Book of Discipline, that they should at least have the right of objection to any chosen for them by the heritors or landowners in the parish. After the Revolution, an Act of 1690 confirmed them in this privilege, but after the Union in 1712 the heritors, eager to gain what they thought their rights, obtained a repeal of this act and the restoration of their

former powers. In spite of the protests of the people and of the church, this act gradually became custom as well as law, and led to several schisms; for those congregations who did not choose to have ministers forced on them whom they did not approve broke off, and founded separate sects. At length, in 1834, the Non-intrusion party, as those who were opposed to patronage were called, had a majority in the Assembly, and passed the Veto Act. This act declared it to be "a fundamental law of the church that no pastor shall be intruded on a congregation contrary to the will of the people," and that, if the heads of families objected to any candidate presented by the patron, the Presbytery should reject him. In the same year Mr. Young was presented to the parish of Auchterarder, in Perthshire. Several persons objected to him, and the Presbytery, acting on the Veto Act, rejected him. The patron appealed to the Court of Session for the enforcement of his civil rights and obtained a verdict in his favor; but the Presbytery appealed to the House of Lords. Here, too, it was given against them, but they still refused to make trial of Mr. Young. In another parish, Strathbogie, the presentee, Mr. Edwards, was objected to by the congregation, and the Presbytery refused to admit him to the parish. He also obtained a decree in his favor from the Court of Session, when the Presbytery yielded, and for this they were suspended and deposed by the General Assembly. From this it was clear that the majority in the Assembly were determined to go all lengths in resisting the civil power. In the end the church had to yield, and to recall the illegal Veto Act. Rather than agree to this, in 1843 more than a third of the clergy left the church. Their leaders were Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Candlish. Great numbers of the people went "out," as it was called, with their ministers, and the Free Church which was thus originated has ever since been the successful rival of the Establishment. Patronage was finally abolished by Parliament in 1869.

The removal of the government to London attracted thither not only all the Scottish nobles, but also all the wealthy and the ambitious commoners. Thus Edinburgh lost much of its importance through the Union, though it still remained the intellectual capital, where the members of the courts of law and of the University took the lead in society. Meanwhile Glasgow, the capital of the West, where the manufactures which were first introduced by Duncan Forbes had taken firm root, gradually rose to much greater

importance in wealth and commerce. During this period two great elements of civilization, productive industry and intellectual culture, have done much to improve the Lowland population, among whom book-learning has always been in advance of material comfort. It was not till after the Rebellion of 1745 that the spirit of industry first began to animate the people. But the Highlands remained for some time in a very bad state. The spirit of the people was broken, and the severe climate, barren soil, and lack of minerals left them no resource but the fisheries. The Highland Society, founded in 1784, did much to improve the state of agriculture by reclaiming the waste districts; and latterly great numbers of the people have emigrated.

An important economic measure was the removal of all restraints upon Scottish trade. The Scots had previously been permitted to trade only in specified places, according to the will and consent of the English Government. Now, these barriers being removed, their ships freely sailing to all parts of the world, there was a rapid and healthful growth of commerce. Incidentally, this gave an impetus to the construction of ships, and later of steamers. Scotland quickly took the first place among the shipbuilders of the world, and that place they still hold after two centuries of competition. This freedom of trade had therefore a twofold advantage, in building up a most important and remunerative branch of manufacture as well as developing a superb system of commerce.

The growth of one branch of manufacture inevitably leads to the growth of other branches; and a vigorous and healthy commerce both sustains and is sustained by the variety of manufacture, including all articles that can be made at a profit without the aid of artificial devices, such as bounties. The general prosperity of the country was marked by the increased manufacture of those articles that can reasonably be made in that country. Among these the most important are woolens, including Tweed cloths, Paisley shawls, and Hawick hosiery, renowned throughout the civilized world. Next in importance is the Scotch whisky, which has hardly a competitor among the consumers of the beverage that both cheers and inebriates. Glass and paper, in excellent quality, are also made in considerable quantities. Various mining industries are carried on, but the only products of the first importance are coal and iron. The fisheries of Aberdeen for the first eleven months of 1901 amounted to 904,619 cwts., valued at $2,696,309. These industries,

aided by successful farming, have contributed to general and prolonged prosperity. From the earliest dawn of history to the year of the Union, Scotland was perennially on the verge of starvation. To-day, evidences of prosperity are to be seen on every side,—abundance of food, with a steady demand for work at reasonable remuneration.

When the Scots began to emigrate they were tempted to overdo the act. The benefits of emigration were so apparent that the popular movement in that line imperiled the country; for it does not follow that if it is a good thing for one-tenth of the population to emigrate it is also good for nine-tenths. The tide of emigration ran so high and strong in the early part of the nineteenth century that there was danger that the country would be left desolate and relapse into barrenness. Prompt measures were taken to divert this calamity. The means used for this purpose were the development of public works, especially canals, bridges, and roads.

At this point mention should be made of the great Scottish engineer, Thomas Telford, whose name is favorably perpetuated in the superb roads called "Telford roads." Born in Dumfriesshire in 1757, he early removed to London, where his talents were proved by the construction of the Ellesmere Canal, the aqueduct bridge over the valley of the Dee, and the great Catherine docks. He was employed to project public improvements in Scotland. The monumental work of Scotland was the Caledonian Canal, extending from southwest to northeast for a distance of sixty miles, and uniting the west coast with the east coast of that country. This canal was begun in 1803, and though opened in 1822, was not fully completed until 1847.

Other works, each insignificant when compared with the great canal, but all of them in the aggregate sinking the canal itself into insignificance, were constructed throughout the length and breadth of Scotland. Everywhere were built the finest of roads and the most perfect of bridges. These extensive improvements furnished remunerative employment to a vast army of workmen while in process of construction, and when they were finished were of incalculable value to all classes of people. Railroads soon followed. The first railroad—in which the horse was at the outset a substitute for the locomotive—was that which led from Kilmarnock to Troon, a distance of a scant ten miles, and was opened in 1812. It was a humble start for the railroad system, but the railroads were rapidly

improved, the mileage increased annually, and for many years the railroad system has been quite sufficient for the needs of the country, and a credit to the people. Other public works have kept pace with the growing needs of the community. Thus, by steady and wise development, the material prosperity of Scotland has grown with remarkably few checks or breaks for nearly two hundred years, and there is every evidence that this prosperity will continue for generations to come.

The separate history of Scotland, which may be said to have ceased with the Union, is chiefly remarkable from its unconnected and fragmentary character. Each of the periods into which it is naturally divided breaks off abruptly, and exercises little or no influence on the period which comes after it. The Celtic system comes to an end with the last of the Gaelic kings. During the English period English laws and English customs are introduced, but this English influence is suddenly checked by the War of Independence, and the period which begins with the independent kingdom is no more the natural result of the second than the second is of the first. During the third period the Roman Law is introduced, and France takes the place of England as the model for imitation. The Scottish system of representation, which became fixed during this period, had much more in common with the French National Assembly than with the English Parliament. The Three Estates, which met in one chamber, were the church, the barons, that is, the tenants holding direct from the Crown, and the burghers. The commons as a class were not represented at all. It is the Reformation which first brings the commons into notice. The feudal character of the legislature and of the national representation drove the energies of the people into the only channel that was left open to them—that of religious thought. Hence it came that in Scotland the great struggle for political freedom was fought out under the cloak of a contest for liberty of conscience. From the Reformation to the Union the history of the country is little but the record of a series of religious wars. The history of Scotland also gives us a picture of pure and unmixed feudalism. The feudal system which was introduced under the sons of Malcolm and Margaret took much firmer root in Scotland than it ever did in England; and, as it was here untouched by the Common Law and the growth of the constitution which acted as checks upon it in England, it grew to such an excess of power that it quite overshadowed the power of

the Crown. The practice of making hereditary jurisdictions, and of granting powers of regality, still further increased the influence of the feudal nobles. Feudalism existed in Scotland long after it had been overthrown in England. Its power was first broken by the act which was passed in 1748 for abolishing heritable jurisdictions, and even after that act it continued to influence the representation. Feudalism in Scotland was not finally overthrown till the passing of the first Reform Bill in 1832. Nor was it till after that reform that the Commons of Scotland were represented at all in Parliament. The rebellions in favor of the Stuarts in 1715 and 1745, though they were the cause of much useless bloodshed, led to very happy results as far as the social prosperity of the country was concerned. The abolition of the heritable jurisdictions did much good, for it placed agriculturists in a much freer position, while the money which was paid to the great proprietors as a compensation for their feudal rights gave a fresh spring to the circulation of the country. At the time of the Union Scotland was without agriculture, manufactures, shipping, or commerce. Since then she has risen to excellence in them all.

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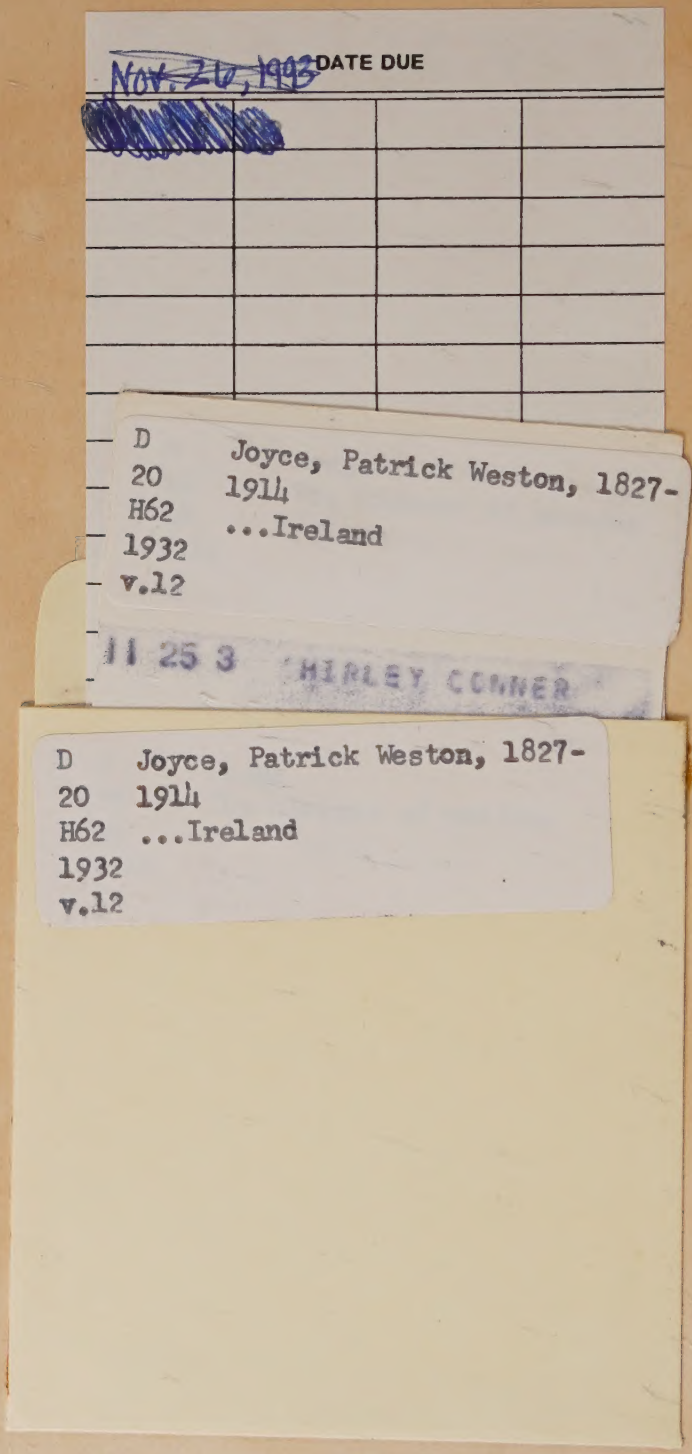
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